Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-95-141 *24 July 1995*

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Bildt Says Belgrade Close To Recognizing Bosnia

AU2207143295 Paris AFP in English
1303 GMT 22 Jul 95

[By Jean-Louis Pany]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] London, July 22 (AFP)—European Union mediator Carl Bildt said Saturday [22 July] that Belgrade was close to recognising Bosnia, but the terms of his accord with Belgrade fell short of demands from western governments.

The Swedish mediator has been trying for months to convince Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to recognise neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina in exchange for a suspension of trade sanctions in force since May 1992.

By granting Bosnia recognition, Milosevic would deprive the Bosnian Serbs of important leverage, notably because he would have to swear off military intervention.

Such recognition would also discourage union between the Bosnian and Croatian Serbs.

Speaking on Friday night in London at the close of the international meeting on Bosnia, Bildt said the accord was close to completion, and that the rest depended "on factors over which (he has) no control."

Bildt said Milosevic was ready to recognise Bosnia as long as it was carved up along the lines proposed by the "Contact Group" of Britain, France, Germany, the United States and Russia—51 percent for the Croats and Moslems and 49 percent for the Serbs.

However, Bildt came out of a meeting with the Contact Group foreign ministers without announcing any agreement. A Foreign Office spokesman said nevertheless that this did not reflect opposition by the western powers.

"The Contact Group supported concluding a recognition deal but thought it difficult to do so in the present circumstances while the Bosnian Serbs were waging an offensive," the spokesman said.

But the Contact Group "has decided to reconsider the general context in several days," he said, explaining that this would entail a "proposal of mutual recognition" between Bosnia and rump Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) "mixed with an easing of sanctions."

The proposal is "an important part in the political process with the potential to achieve a ceasefire," the Foreign Office spokesman said.

But several uncertainties remain, including Sarajevo's stance, but also the terms of the accord. Would Belgrade accept recognising only the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina, or also the government of Sarajevo, which it currently considers illegitimate?

Milosevic has posed several conditions—the recognition of rump Yugoslavia as the only legal heir of the former Yugoslav federation, resolution of the conflict between the Moslem-Croat Federation in Bosnia and the Bosnian Serbs, and recognition of the Bosnian Serb entity and its right to confederate with rump Yugoslavia.

A French source said negotiations between Bildt and the Serb president had been centred for several weeks on how to lift the trade embargo.

They had reached common ground, but "what will we look like if we announce a deal with Belgrade at a time when the Bosnian Serbs take (the Moslem enclave of) Srebrenica?" the French source asked.

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Meksi, Slovenia's Thaler Discuss Bosnian Conflict

AU2207185995 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 21 Jul 95

[Report by Aferdita Sokoli]

[FBIS Translated Text] There exist possibilities to develop relations in many fields between Albania and Slovenia, and there is no obstacle to this, Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi told Slovene Foreign Minister Thaler at a reception hosted for the latter this morning.

Prime Minister Meksi conditioned the reciprocal desire to develop good relations between the two countries with the political interest to stabilize the situation in the region, which is currently being presented as the most turbulent.

Regarding the current developments in the region, the Albanian prime minister pointed out the need to respect the rights of the people and condemn the aggressor.

Meksi expressed the Albanian Government's stance to peacefully resolve the crisis within the OSCE framework and to preserve the embargo on the former Yugoslavia, and expressed concern of the conflict possibly spreading to Kosova and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], something that could lead to a Balkan war.

Mr. Meksi stressed that we have asked the international community to demilitarize Kosova and believed that a dialogue among the sides is necessary. The delay of resolving such very important topics is to the detriment of one side and contains in itself a source of danger for misunderstandings in establishing relations in the future.

Slovene Foreign Minister Thaler relayed his government's concern over the regional situation and the current developments in Bosnia with the fact that Serbia considers the war as the best means to realize its goals. Thaler pointed out that the aggravation of the situation in Bosnia questions the UN's credibility.

Mr. Thaler also stressed that the international community should pay attention to the issue of human and national rights of Albanians in Kosova.

Regarding economic cooperation, agriculture and tourism presented an interest for both sides. Mr. Meksi assessed the increase of the trade volume between the two countries and the presence of the Slovene firms in Albania. He mentioned the contribution by the Smelt company and offered the field of hydroenergy to the Slovene firms, stressing the need to establish close cooperation among the businessmen.

Assembly Rejects No-Confidence Vote in Zhulali

AU2107132995 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 21 Jul 95 p 3

[Article by Martin Leka: "Zhulali—Hero Lifted Above Scandals"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ever since Pjeter Arbnori first gave notice of the debate on the motion of no confidence in Defense Minister Zhulali, Namik Dokle, the leader of the Socialist parliamentary group, had expressed his concern that his two-page memorandum distributed to deputies by the presidium had one page missing, lost in the archives of the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

In his speech, the Socialist deputy Zyberi expressed his respect for the Armed Forces and the reform in the army, especially the admission of the army into the structures of NATO and the Partnership for Peace. He then said that the motion had to do with Defense Minister Zhulali's violations of the law, as published in our newspaper yesterday.

Azem Hajdari, chairman of the Parliamentary Commission for Defense, expressed his appreciation of the work of the Defense Ministry and its minister, and called on the Socialists to withdraw the motion, which they refused to do. According to Hajdari, Zhulali's work has been outstanding for its wisdom and energy.

As if on a day of celebration, dressed in a formal white suit, Zhulali did not reply from the parliamentary rostrum to any of the accusations raised in the motion against him. The essence of his speech was, "I have striven to direct the army in accordance with the law and have always had the trust and support of the president and the Democratic Party parliamentary group... I have surrendered my immunity voluntarily and it would be a good thing if the motion were withdrawn."

Dokle once again expressed his appreciation of the achievements of the army, repeated that Zhulali had violated the laws of the state, and again insisted on a secret ballot. Arbnori categorically refused. The Socialist parliamentary group abstained. The voting was open and nominal. Zhulali remains defense minister with 72 votes in favor and one abstention.

This was the background to yesterday's parliamentary session devoted to the motion against the defense minister.

One can become a hero even on the back of scandals. That was what Zhulali became yesterday. Many people lifted him onto a pedestal. The first to do so were the Socialists, who had sought the no-confidence vote on the basis of some general points without the necessary evidence to convince the deputies and especially the

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public. The first three points in the motion concerned electoral malpractices, but details and concrete facts were not supplied on time. Similarly, the fourth point failed to mention how many officers had been released without receiving pensions. Later, sums of expenditure and their details were not given. As for privatization in the army and the assets given to Zhulali's acquaintances, details of the assets and the names of his acquaintances were not provided. As for the final point, the oft-mentioned matter of the $360,000 given to a Bulgarian citizen, the consequences of this movement of money were not stated, even though a court case has been won over it. Even if this court case had been a purely moral victory for the minister, a mere 1-percent interest on these dollars would over four years have yielded $13,800! Entire files, not two pages, should have been prepared on all these charges.

The second group of people to prepare the pedestal for Zhulali were the deputies of the Democratic Alliance, who strangely did not take part in the session to discuss the motion yesterday, although their accusations against the minister have been persistent and grave. Only T. Keko was present at the voting yesterday and his vote was less against the motion and for Zhulali than an expression of dissatisfaction with his colleagues. The third group to come to Zhulali's assistance were the Social Democrat deputies, who did not take part in the voting. The sole deputy to abstain was Apostoli.

The most important factor was Arbnori's fear of a secret ballot. According to the principle of "once bitten, twice shy," he categorically refused a secret ballot. Those very same deputies that supported Zhulali's removal as defense minister a short time ago were now united round him in a firm grip. "Day and night" are not the same.

Thus, Zhulali became a hero yesterday. Or rather, was turned into one. The opposition did not register a single vote against Zhulali yesterday. The opposition strives in vain to confront the government in a parliamentary struggle. This parliament is at the extreme limit of moral obsolescence. The opposition feels utterly exhausted. With such an opposition, this parliament and this government could survive for another 100 years. The precedent of Zhulali is just one among many to show that you can be lifted up as a hero even on the back of scandals.

Comment: Pro-Zhulali Vote 'a Vote for America'

AU2107133295 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 21 Jul 95 p 3

[Commentary by Ben Blushi: "A Vote for America, not for Zhulali"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday the Socialists were put in the position of Christopher Columbus, who found America while losing the Indies. Or rather, the Socialists set off against Zhulali and lost America. At the beginning of the week, a letter from P. Arbnori reminded them that a few months previously they had sought a vote of no confidence in the defense minister. The invitation to vote on Zhulali was so hurried that it gave them no time to think about what to do with him. The files of the proposal were reopened and the old accusations were dusted off. In the enthusiasm of their renewed chase, the Socialist Party [PS] ended up in parliament yesterday, thinking that it would be voting on Zhulali, as Arbnori's invitation promised. For the Democratic Party [PD], the idea of bringing down the defense minister in a secret ballot after the referendum seemed additionally tempting. With our votes, and those of the PD, we will get rid of the defense minister, the socialist deputies said before the ballot. However, unlike the Socialists, who had gone to parliament to vote on Zhulali, the Democrats were there to vote on the United States. The PS was unable to make the connection between the timing of the ballot and the U.S.-Albanian military maneuvers. The invitation to vote was sudden and had its effect. The motivation behind the PS's desire to remove Zhulali, and especially its strategy, had been thought out by the PD rather than the Socialists themselves. Perhaps it was not thought out by the PD alone, because yesterday's ballot was an American test. One of the charges on whose basis the PS incriminated the defense minister was how he has put the country's air and naval bases at the disposal of the Americans. The Socialists were invited to parliament with the sole purpose of having them formulate this accusation. Their behavior showed that the Socialists had not even fathomed why Arbnori had invited them to flex their muscles. No doubt it was not in order to respect the parliamentary rule book or to assassinate Zhulali, the man who had recently invited in the Americans. Arbnori invited the Socialists, in the Americans' presence, to show their attitude toward the United States, and the Socialists, who read the message's text but not its subtext, accused the minister not of talking to but of sharing a bed with the Americans. The other charges of his pro-PD commitment in the referendum or over the $360,000 were of no importance. In this context, their behavior yesterday has meant a step backward for the Socialists in their delicate relations with Washington.

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They were not only unable to improve on themselves as former communists, but also not on precedents offered by other Reds in the East, who have proved resistant to the United States and NATO. The Bulgarian Socialists, when they came to power, raised doubts about the advantages of integration in NATO and about U.S. influence in their country. The same scenario was played out yesterday, but before the PS has even come to power. Of course, when Berisha and Zhulali go to the Pentagon and the White House, they will not forget to remind the Americans that those who want to come to power are those who sought to bring down the defense minister at the moment when the 6th Fleet was arriving in Durres, and on the pretext that the defense minister had opened the door to it. The PS's motto that the White House has no votes is no consolation. A more cautious pro-American stance on the part of any party could be justified and understandable. Parties compete with their ideas, leaving the final word to the voters. But the moment and manner of demonstrating an attitude are important, often more important than the attitude itself.

Columbus never understood that he had discovered America instead of the Indies. But even if he had understood, there would have been no purpose in setting off again toward the East or time for such a thing.

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Security Service Chief Views Staff Problems

AU2107134395 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 14 Jul 95 p 9

[Interview with Colonel Yuliy Georgiev, director of the National Security Service, by Chavdar Krumov; place and date not given: "Bulgarian Counterintelligence Will Break With Its Outmoded Ways of Working"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Boxed biographical note] Colonel Yuliy Georgiev (44 years old) is married with two children. He graduated from the Karl Marx Research Institute and has a degree in journalism from Sofia University. He has worked for the Interior Ministry since 1979 and has served in all posts, from intelligence officer to director of the National Security Service [NSS].

[Krumov] Mr. Georgiev, how far do you agree with the thesis that Bulgaria is an open yard and has no real possibilities of protecting its national security?

[Georgiev] In my opinion, one should avoid using metaphors and other literary tricks when speaking of our national security. The subject is extremely complicated, and one should adopt a serious approach to it. The great transformation has completely changed our lives. These changes did not bypass the security system, its individual components, and organs, which in recent years have passed through various stages—from relative equilibrium to destabilization and stagnation. However, I venture to claim that they have not been completely destroyed, as people sometimes say. I consider that the present state of the National Security Service is no different from that of the other institutions of state. In this respect I am an optimist, and prefer to speak of a weakening, or limitation of capabilities, rather than a complete breakdown. What I regard as important is that the new NSS team assesses our present condition objectively and has a clear program for emerging from the crisis. Regarding our possibilities of protecting our national security, the situation is clear: As long as Bulgaria has a Bulgarian Government, and society manages to agree on a sensible security policy that takes account of the geopolitical situation in the world and our region, domestic and foreign factors and conditions, and the risks and threats, these possibilities will continue to exist and develop.

[Krumov] You speak of a crisis, but in recent years great efforts have been made to prove that all the cadres of the former State Security are bad and should be removed from the system. As director, are you conscious today of a lack of people able to work to defend our national security?

[Georgiev] In following a pragmatic personnel policy, one should not divide people into present and past, ours and yours, or into those who are capable and those who (let us speak frankly) are lazy and ineffective. If anyone is worried that all the former State Security employees will return to work, I can offer some reassurance. The NSS will accept back only those employees who possess the necessary qualities, are psychologically stable, and are not associated with groups and interests that prevent them from being loyal to the state and their profession. Such people are in fact not so numerous, there are even fewer of them than we need.

However, I suspect you are asking me for my opinion regarding the reforms carried out in the security services in the 1990-94 period. After 10 November 1989, in addition to the emotions attempts were made to think rationally and seek more sensible alternatives. Within the service, discussions were particularly lively among staff of the younger generation and a little older. Some supported the Czech version, while others proposed that we should be examined by professional assessment commissions, so that only the best officers remained in the profession. Unfortunately, the people who controlled events did not want to listen to others' opinions. Some imposed criteria of political expediency, while others espoused the philosophy of survival, and everyone saw what happened in the end. People were dismissed from the service who had good prospects for realizing their capabilities and were able to hand on their experience and skills to the younger generation and new recruits—and there are not so many of these. Gradually other good employees left the service of their own volition, because they regarded the future as gloomy and had lost their motivation for the work. This led to the breakdown of an extremely specific system, which had been built up over many years and handed down from generation to generation, a system of professional, moral-ethical, psychological, and other rules, principles, and views that shape the counterintelligence officer and motivate him to be always ready to give his all, without thinking about the hours he works or his salary. It is this code that creates the special atmosphere within the security services and makes the true counterintelligence officer feel he has been selected by fate, enabling him to be stronger than the circumstances he finds himself in. Accordingly, I consider that the consequences of the reform will continue to have negative effects, particularly on the cadre and professional balance in the NSS and on developing the counterintelligence specialists. We are now making major efforts in this direction, and I hope they will change the situation.

[Krumov] The changes in Bulgaria placed common, garden-variety informers on the same level as people

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who really helped to protect national interests. Is the NSS able to function without a major network of agents?

[Georgiev] In principle, I do not accept the use of the term informer in connection with national security. I can assure you that the protection of national security is not only effected by secret collaborators or, God forbid, informers. In a well-organized state, it is either a duty legally imposed on everyone, notwithstanding the present tendency to reject the idea, or it is regarded as an example of civic-minded behavior. I hope that the National Assembly will adopt the National Security Concept very soon, so as to put an end to this useless discussion, which can only harm society. Otherwise, we receive help, and will continue to do so, from people who care for the state and the nation. We hold them in the most sincere respect.

[Krumov] What is the greatest threat to our national security at present?

[Georgiev] We have already mentioned one of the risks, namely the weakening of the special structures, the army, police, and law enforcement organs. In our view, the greatest threat from outside is the conflict in former Yugoslavia, while the greatest internal threat is the severe economic crisis and the level of crime, which has gotten out of control. However, we do not underestimate other threats, such as the attempts that foreign intelligence services, criminal groups, terrorist organizations, sects, and so on are making to interfere in our affairs.

[Krumov] Do you consider that really major criminal groups exist in Bulgaria, groups that no one dares or is able to overcome?

[Georgiev] No, I do not. I see the first signs of an improvement in coordination and collaboration between the Interior Ministry services and the other law enforcement bodies, which is one of the prerequisites for limiting crime. Everything takes time.

[Krumov] What new developments can we expect in the NSS?

[Georgiev] It is our intention that within a reasonable time the NSS will give up its outdated ways of working and draw closer to the model of a modern, well organized, and really effective service, while retaining and putting into practice the best elements from the traditions of Bulgarian intelligence in the last few decades. We put our faith in common sense and pragmatism.

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Minister Holan on Plans for Withrawal From Bosnia

LD2107140295 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 21 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] It is not just to blame the failed peace talks in Bosnia on the world community, Czech Defense Minister Vilem Holan said in Olomouc on 21 July. Marie Hovadikova in Olomouc has more details.

[Hovadikova] According to Minister Holan, the Ministry of Defense has its own plans on how to withdraw Czech soldiers from critical places. However, it is likely that, if the need arose, Czech troops would take part in a controlled withdrawal assisted by NATO armies.

Minister Holan also said that this did not mean that the Czech Republic was not willing to participate in the efforts of the world community to solve the conflict. Nevertheless, it is necessary to create conditions in which the safety of Czech soldiers will not be threatened. This was one of the conclusions of the meeting of the strategic council, which is an advisory body of the Ministry of Defense. [passage omitted]

Russia's PFP Membership Welcomed by Prague

95CH0273D Prague PRAGUE POST in English 13 Jun 95 p 4

[Article by Timea Spitkova, assisted by Daniel Crimmins: "Russia's Reversal on Partnership Eases Central European Concerns"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Russia's reversal of its decision to suspend its membership in the Partnership for Peace was greeted with a quiet sigh of relief in Central Europe.

Last December, Russia suspended enrollment in the program to protest plans to expand the North Atlantic Treaty Organization eastward. Although Moscow restated its misgivings about the Western alliance's plans to expand, the agreement reached May 31 to Noordwijk, Holland, is considered a significant leap forward by most analysts.

"If Russia gets angry, nobody wins," said Zbigniew Lewicki, the director of international relations and security at the Prague-based Institute for East-West Studies. The enlargement of NATO is not dangerous to Russia, but it has been made into a political issue, he said.

Concern that the alienation of Russia could add fuel to the fire of that country's hard-liners is not artificial, Lewicki emphasized. NATO is still viewed as a hostile military structure by many Russian generals and some political forces in the country, he said.

The Partnership for Peace program, adopted in January 1994, allows for military cooperation with NATO and is the first step toward integration with the alliance. Although participation in the partnership has been extended to all former Warsaw Pact members, NATO membership is expected to be offered to only a few Central European countries in the foreseeable future.

While taking clear strides toward NATO, Central and Eastern European leaders are also eager to have Russia closely cooperate with Western institutions.

"It is imperative not to isolate these (former Soviet Union) countries," said Czech Minister of Defense Vilem Holan.

The best chance for retaining peace and security in this part of the world is for Russia and, eventually, other former Soviet-bloc countries to become solidly democratic, he said.

Holan said he hopes the truly democratic forces will not oppose the expansion of NATO.

Other regional leaders also embraced the step taken by Russia.

Polish Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski said that he welcomed any step that binds Russia to an international security system. "Russia's neoimperialist thinking is another reason why we are trying to get into NATO," Bartoszewski said at a May 30 press conference in Prague.

Although most analysts agree that the Czech Republic and Poland are at the front of the line for NATO membership and Hungary is next, the question of Slovak and Slovenian entry is still up in the air.

"Slovakia is more and more out of the picture," said Lewicki. "I don't think the interest in joining NATO is real and will be maintained." According to Lewicki, the exclusion of Slovakia would create a problem for Hungary, which would then not border any other NATO country. However, the inclusion of Slovenia in NATO would solve this problem, he said.

A NATO representative stationed in Bratislava disagrees. Alliance expansion will occur sometime at the beginning of the next century, and six years down the road Slovakia will be ready, said the representative, who requested anonymity.

In the light of NATO's lack of a clear "enemy" and its inability to deal with the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, the purpose behind NATO is in question. The potential enemy is also one of Moscow's primary concerns.

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"We have to clarify whom NATO is going to defend itself against," Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev told reporters. "If one has Russia in mind, it is obvious that this would mean creating new dividing lines in Europe."

Ecologists Protest U.S. Support for Power Station

LD2407083395 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0700 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The activists from the Rainbow [Duha] movement and other ecological movements from the Czech Republic and other countries protested on 23 July in front of the U.S. Embassy against the completion of the Temelin nuclear power station.

Jakub Patocka, chairman of the Rainbow movement, which organized the event, spoke to Prague Radio about the reasons for the protest:

[Begin Patocka recording] The United States has been supporting the completion of the Temelin nuclear power station through the guarantees provided by the American Eximbank for loans coming from the United States. Naturally, this is not because the Temelin power station would be beneficial to our country. The reason is the involvement of the U.S. company Westinghouse, which is the only one to benefit from the Temelin power station. Neither our country nor the people from south or north Bohemia will benefit from it. The only one who might benefit from it is the U.S. company Westinghouse—and, perhaps, Minister Vladimir Dlouhy, who has linked much of his popularity to the completion of the power station. [end recording]

Rainbow movement members drew attention yesterday to a protest they are planning for 1 October, during which they want to block access to the Temelin power station.

Sale of Nuclear Reactors to North Korea Proposed

95CH0273E Prague PRAGUE POST in English 13 Jun 95 p 1

[Article by Maggie Ledford Lawson: "Skoda Offers To Sell Reactors to North Korea"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Czech engineering concern Skoda Plzen is offering to supply nuclear reactors to North Korea in what a company official has billed a "diplomatic alternative" to having South Korea supply them. The deal is likely to involve the U.S.-based-Westinghouse Electric Corp.

The proposal for the sale by Lubomir Soudek, Skoda's chief executive officer, has drawn criticism from environmental groups, which condemn the proliferation of Soviet-style reactors. Westinghouse and Skoda Plzen are involved in the completion of the controversial Temelin nuclear plant in south Bohemia.

North Korea has agreed to an American request to shut down reactors that are a ready source of plutonium, a material used to build nuclear bombs, and to accept light-water reactors as a substitute. Light-water models also create plutonium, but it would not be as easily accessible to would-be weapons makers.

However, negotiations between the two countries have bogged down over the issue of which country is to supply the reactors.

South Korea, which has agreed to pay much of the bill for the reactors, wants to be the supplier, and the United States supports that approach.

North Korea has objected, saying that the facilities actually would be "U.S.-made." The objection is linked to the involvement of Westinghouse in South Korea's nuclear program, according to Hans-Friedrich Meyer, a spokesman for the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna.

"For [illegible] Korea, it's a political question," said Meyer.

North Korea could prove more willing to accept the reactors from Skoda than from its neighbor to the south, Soudek recently told the Reuters news agency.

But North Korea might also find the Czech manufacturer less than acceptable. A highly placed Skoda official who did not want his name used said, "There have been some discussions with Westinghouse" about that company's participation in a project involving the sale of nuclear reactors to North Korea. Westinghouse is currently providing instrumentation and control technology for the Temelin reactor.

Gabe Toth, general director of Westinghouse in the Czech Republic, would not confirm the company's plans for involvement in the sale of nuclear reactors to North Korea.

Petr Hlobil, a director of the Program for Energy Efficiency, said Temelin-style nuclear reactors fail to meet Western safety standards.

Jan Baronek of the environmental group Hnuti Duha (Rainbow Movement) said the VVER/1000 model reactor at Temelin will produce 12.6 metric tons (14 tons) of spent fuel a year, and each ton will contain 8 kilograms (17.6 pounds) of plutonium.

U.S. analysts claim North Korea has obtained enough plutonium from older reactors to manufacture one or more nuclear bombs. North Korea has denied this but has refused to allow international observers to visit its facilities.

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Party Tactics Hinder Progress of Social Laws

95CH0281A Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 10 Jun 95 p 1

[Commentary by Eva Martinkova: "It Is Not Even a Question of Pensions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Discussing social laws a year prior to the elections under our conditions proved to be an unhappy solution. In the atmosphere, which is beginning to be felt in parliament, it proved to be downright impossible. This is because pensions are the last thing to be considered and it must be said that they are of interest to only a few delegates. In yesterday's debate of the health and social policy committee, this came fully to the fore. In view of the field of jurisdiction of this committee, a substantive and qualified debate of the more or less pleasant aspects of the proposed law could have been anticipated. This is so because the results of this debate should be a guideline for the other parliamentary committees which do not have such a specialized insight into pension problems.

However, in the majority of cases, the debate over the submitted proposal was not characterized by expertise, but rather by tensions created by the opposition, by quibbling on the part of the KDU-CSL [Christian and Democratic Union—Czech People's Party], by the unclear position adopted by the CMUS [expansion not given], by attempts at procedural foot-dragging, and by the clear effort to delay debate on the law. Add to this the trade unionists, who were lobbying as guests and who are always ready to repeat their arguments from the Old Town Square. None of this was supported by a single logical argument which would explain why retirement should not be delayed or what arrangement, should be made so that the current retirement age would prevent the development of an untenable ratio between the economically active and the retired portion of the population. And by now, every layman has had to understand the bare fact that the size of pensions, taxes, and the retirement age are three mutually interdependent points of a single triangle.

The background of the position taken by many delegates did not include so much any concern for the pensioner as the more likely vision of the position of deputy chairman of the House of Delegates opening up, the elections to the Senate coming up, the disputes regarding territorial breakdowns, and, primarily, the election preferences—tactics, concessions, special-purpose agreements, lobbying—in short, politics. All of this is part of parliamentary action, provided, of course, that it influences the resulting work of parliament in a positive sense. In the case of the pension law, it is possible to share the results. Proposed amendments can turn it into an unacceptable paper or prevent its adoption altogether. If the opposition were truly concerned with the strata which they defend, it will vote in favor of the law as rapidly as possible. The pension system is based on such a degree of solidarity between the haves and have-nots that this could cease to be to the liking of the middle class. It is they who contribute to the system most expressly, although in their retirement they will not have any greater benefits than those people who earn one-tenth as much as they do. But the opposition should have a pensioner in mind, rather than obstruction at any cost.

Trade Unions as Allies of Political Parties

95CH0272A Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 6 Jun 95 p 3

[Article by ps: "Party Trade Unions Are a Specialty of the Czech Social Democratic Party, Communists, and the People's Party"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague (ps)—Employees of the coalition parties are not members of any trade union organization, except for the employees of the People's Party who have trade unions and who each year conclude a collective agreement with the leadership of the party. Also, employees of the Social Democratic Party and the KSCM [Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia] are organized in trade unions.

The establishment of trade unions within the ODS [Civic Democratic Party] did not occur to anyone, according to spokesperson Jana Petrova. "We are solving far more important problems and have no time for such peculiar matters as are represented by party trade unions," she said. Not even the employees of the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] are in trade unions, nor are they even thinking about establishing such organizations. "Over the entire period of the existence of the alliance, I have never encountered such an idea," said the ODA press spokesman, David Rozanek. The possibility that within the KDS [Christian Democratic Party] trade unions might exist is considered by Ondrej Turek, chief of the employee cadre, to be absurd. "Nothing like that is threatening us," he said.

On the other hand, the People's Party, the Social Democrats, and the Communists consider party trade unions to be a natural phenomenon. According to an employee of the KDU-CSL [Christian Democratic Union—Czech People's Party] secretariat, People's Party trade unionists conclude a collective agreement with the party leadership each year. "For now, we have always come to an agreement. We do not have the slightest problems in this regard," she said. The trade unions help the employees of the Communist Party of Bohemia and

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Moravia to defend their rights before party officials. "After all, changes in the leadership cannot influence the social security of employees," said Vera Zezulkova, press spokesperson for the Communists. However, there have thus far been no major clashes between the trade unions and the party leadership, she said.

Even the employees of the CSSD [Czech Social Democratic Party] have a trade union organization. Its members were ready to strike, as of 1 June, because their wages were allegedly not going to be paid them within the specified time limit. Following a promise that matters would be resolved, the leadership of the enterprise trade union committee proposed that the strike readiness status be rescinded.

Klaus Explains Trade Deficit, Advises Caution

95CH0270B Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 3 Jun 95 p 5

[Article by Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus: "The Trade Deficit"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A relatively fast economic growth is under way in our country, and if we are afraid of anything, then it is perhaps only that it could be too fast in the short term. Inflation has stabilized at an annual rate of about 10 percent, and the obvious problem is how to bring into harmony, and at the same time ensure, a decline in inflation, further deregulation of prices, and a rapid economic growth—and all this in a short period of time. I am well aware that these do not go together. Moreover, we have tremendously low unemployment—this brings social peace, does not create hordes of unemployed (and therefore unmotivated and given to antisocial behavior) young people, which is very good, but it slows down the rate of economic growth and makes it impossible to bring down inflation. Although recently it seemed to many that because of the rapid influx of foreign capital the nominal rate of exchange of the koruna needs to be raised, I believe they were quickly cured of that notion by the current problems in the balance of trade. Let us take a look, therefore, at how things actually stand with our balance of trade.

Facts: during the first three months of this year exports rose by 3 percent, imports by 35 percent. The result is a trade deficit of 18.3 billion Czech korunas [Kc] (and preliminary figures for April indicate that the deficit has again increased sharply). So that attention would not be diverted somewhere else, I want to point out that the trade balance with Slovakia is—regardless of the different appearance of the clearing account—just the opposite; we export to Slovakia more than we import (by Kc1.3 billion).

Put in overall context: merchandise transactions are only one of the components of the so-called current account of the balance of payments. Even though it is the largest component, it does not have to be the dominant component by any means. For the same period of the first quarter there is a deficit in the current account as well, but only in the amount of Kc4 billion—it means that services and tourist trade, for example, have a balance opposite to that of trade. In any event, the whole is more important than the part.

A balance of payments also includes the so-called capital account which reflects the movement of capital (investments) into and out of our country. This account shows a surplus of almost Kc60 billion for the same period. That is why we are not beginning to lose—despite the trade deficit—our foreign currency reserves. On the contrary, they are increasing rapidly and today they amount to more than 11 billion, and that is not in korunas but in dollars.

My arguments in no way suggest, at least I hope not, that the trade deficit is a reason for joy or bragging. But for the time being it is not an alarm bell.

Causes: first let me say that we expected such a development—albeit somewhat more moderate. The government's proposal of the state budget for 1995 (prepared basically already in the summer of 1994) assumed a trade deficit of about Kc30-40 billion (for the entire year).

It did not expect an acceleration in economic growth such as we are seeing in the first quarter of this year; it did not expect such tenaciousness of inflation, such rapid increase in real wages, and the declining unemployment rate. The result is that the transformation cushions (advantageous exchange rate, low real wages) are emptying faster than we wanted, that domestic demand is growing rapidly (faster than domestic production), and that as a consequence export is increasing slowly.

In the short term, the problem does not lie in export. Even if it grew twice, three times, or five times faster than it has until now, we would have a trade deficit nevertheless—which, among other things, puts the fashionable debates about the so-called proexport policy into an entirely different light. The problem is the interannual 35-percent growth of imports. It, too, has its obvious causes. In the liberalized environment (with the high rate of convertibility of the koruna, which fact is often being forgotten!) demand increases, the rate of exchange is not an obstacle, importers have sufficient financial means (despite the constant wailing about the indebtedness of the enterprise sphere by Pick, Gregr, and Matejka), we are not erecting any big administrative obstacles, we are not introducing any certificates, import

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surcharges, or similar protectionist measures. And we do not intend to.

Possible solutions: it may be said that we are talking about a phenomenon that is irreversible in the short to medium term. If that is so, then it will suffice that it be "financeable" by the remainder of the current account and by the influx of foreign capital. It seems that at issue is a logical consequence of the growth phase of the posttransformation process. We should have the ability to cover the deficit in the balance of trade, and should that cease to be workable, then it would be necessary to change the basic quantity, which is the rate of exchange. Dreams about selective government measures for the benefit of some exporters or about administrative protectionism do not lead anywhere. I believe that we shall successfully navigate this intermediate phase as we did the previous ones. But beware of a rapid rise in wages (and other costs) and of forgetting to buy goods of domestic provenance! We could pay for it dearly.

Foreign Investment Exceeds Absorption Capacity

95CH0285C Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by Vera Luptakova and Marta Stolarova: "Influx of Foreign Capital Said To Exceed Capacity of Our Economy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The influx of foreign capital, which in the first five months of this year reached more than $3 billion, represents a strong inflationary pressure. The foreign exchange reserves of the central bank thus increased from $6.2 billion to $9.5 billion. As the governor of the Czech National Bank [CNB], Josef Tosovsky, said yesterday, this influx is large and seems to be exceeding the absorption capacity of our economy. Governor Tosovsky said this at the conference Czech Republic For Privatization—New Business Challenges And Opportunities, arranged by the Financial Times and the Bohemiae Foundation.

The inflow of capital is based on speculation with the differences in interest rates given the fixed exchange rate of the koruna. Sterilization of this money is becoming ever more costly and at the same time its effectiveness is declining. According to the governor, the CNB is thus getting into a situation where it feels it lacks room for conducting an effective monetary policy. It is therefore necessary to discuss further strategy for suppressing inflationary pressures with the government, try to bring the foreign exchange rate closer to the market, and search for a point of balance. At the same time a new foreign exchange law is being drafted, which the government should be discussing on 14 June and which should come before the parliament at the beginning of September.

Another problem, according to Tosovsky, stems from the development concerning wages. Inflationary pressures do not come from the industry, construction, or agriculture, but wage demands are made in the budgetary sphere, and that makes the situation dangerous. The possibility of deregulating wages has presented itself, but that creates the necessity to choose either annual tripartite negotiations on wage increases, or choose the Anglo-Saxon way, where negotiations with employees are conducted by each enterprise with the exclusion of trade unions.

The governor called this year's expected increase in GDP of 3.5 percent "fragile," and added that we must strive have growth generated in the future not by high domestic consumption and increase of reserves, but rather by investments and export.

Klaus Said Favoring Full Convertibility

95CH0285B Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Jun 95 p 1

[Article by (RUM): "Prime Minister Klaus Favors Approval of Foreign Exchange Law Amendment"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague (RUM)—The Czech Government will discuss the draft law on full convertibility of the currency, undoubtedly approve it, and send it to the parliament. Prime Minister Klaus announced this at yesterday's discussion forum arranged by the Deutsche Bank in Prague. The number one macroeconomic question is, in his view, how we shall bring the economic revitalization and its acceleration into consonance with a decline in inflation. "Economic growth in the first quarter of this year may have been even too fast," the prime minister said. And, in his words, it will be necessary to complete the liberalization of prices at the same time, although there are now no more regulated prices here than in the countries of West Europe. The acceleration of this phase in the Czech Republic [CR] was also recommended by the chief economist of the Deutsche Bank concern, Norbert Walter. He conceded, however, that the problem of deregulating rents of apartments, for example, is a current issue in Germany as well.

As Klaus further stated, in privatization after the transformation phase there is already the beginning of the classic privatization stage. In this phase speed is not the primary consideration, but the use of direct privatization methods where bid prices are the deciding factor.

This year's developments in foreign trade, where imports to CR are growing much faster than exports, are

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considered by the prime minister to be an inevitable and logical stage of development. According to Norbert Walter, a short-term deficit is not, if it is at the expense of imports of investments, dangerous. However, in connection with the large influx of speculative capital he pointed out the fact that international financial markets sometimes evaluate unjustly the economic situation of individual countries. That could, despite a relatively favorable economic growth, cause a quick and dangerous exit from the country. In order to liberalize foreign trade the ideal thing for CR, in Klaus's opinion, would be to create free market zones with all the countries in the world to the extent possible. In connection with the admission to EU, Norbert Walter said that CR could significantly help in removing the absurdities of its agricultural market.

Klaus, Tosovsky on Dealing With Inflation

95CH0272B Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 9 Jun 95 p 5

[Article by Ondrej Ler: "The Dispute Between Tosovsky and Klaus Indicates That Economic Policy Is in Need of Change"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Should the government specifically help the central bank in its struggle with inflation or not? The governor of the central bank, Josef Tosovsky, is virtually demanding so; Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus nevertheless says categorically no. It would seem that precisely at this time the governor of the central bank sees much further than the prime minister.

Both protagonists agree that inflation is a great danger, particularly because it has settled in at 10 percent and does not seem inclined to drop further. They are also agreed about the fact that one of the real as well as potential sources of inflation is represented by wage pressures. However, their agreement essentially ceases on this point.

From the standpoint of the Czech National Bank [CNB], the rapid influx of short-term capital from abroad, which increases the amount of money in the economy above the healthy measure, is currently very dangerous. The central bank no longer has any room to maneuver. Reducing the influx of capital by valorizing the domestic currency is not possible, because the government is insisting on a firm rate of exchange for the koruna, which it continues to perceive as an essential "anchor." Pressure by the CNB to make credits more expensive would also lead nowhere. Large insolvent enterprises will ask for credits, even if they are substantially more expensive, and they will also receive them because the commercial banks must simply maintain these enterprises lest they themselves should fail, or lest the investment funds established by them would fail. For predatory promising firms, on which our future depends, more expensive credits would be a disaster.

The government and parliament could help, for example, by not spending the major portion of the state budget surplus, but rather turning it over to the central bank in the form of an installment payment on the state debt. But this is precisely what they did not do at the end of May. Yesterday, Prime Minister Klaus rejected the idea that the government should issue state bonds in order to siphon off a portion of the money supply.

Consideration of a rate-of-exchange policy is being complicated, moreover, by the sizable commercial deficit which has not been covered, for some time now, by a surplus in the services account. For the present, the necessary balance is being provided by capital from abroad and by foreign exchange reserves. But as J. Tosovsky said on Tuesday at the Prague International Conference on the Czech Economy, the valorization expectations could, in the immediate future, quite quietly change into devaluation expectations. A situation could occur in which the capital, which is now flowing in, could begin to flow out rapidly. One can also not overlook the fact that if a revaluation of the koruna did occur, the influx of capital would slow down, but, at the same time, it would make Czech exports, which are already wasting away, more expensive.

It would seem that the current budgetary, monetary, and general economic policy has reached the end of its rope. The influx of capital is monetarily excessive, but we have a firm rate of exchange for the koruna with businessmen calling for capital, but at a lower cost than is the case today. Inflation is being tenaciously held at 10 percent, but the budgetary surplus is dissolving in the economy. From the monetary standpoint, the koruna should be revalued, but exporters want a devaluation. The central bank reports its helplessness and the government is making out as though the situation was not its concern. If the government, together with the central bank, does not adjust the key economic parameters, it will be necessary to reintroduce administrative instruments in order to maintain our economic as well as our political "little idyllic situation," which is characterized among others by weak efficiency, low unemployment, and a small number of bankruptcies—in other words, it will be necessary to return to whence we started. It will be better to find a radical cure in favor of efficiency—even at the cost of greater unemployment.

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Largest FNM Item Said Industrial Debt Subsidy

95CH0285D Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Jun 95 p 3

[Article by Olga Skalkova: "Annual Report of the National Property Fund"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The annual report of the National Property Fund [FNM] and its annual financial statement are on the government's program today. As FNM Deputy Chairman Petr Cermak told us yesterday, the Fund's income from the beginning of the large privatization to 31 December 1994 was 86.9 billion Czech korunas [Kc], and expenditures were Kc82.3 billion. Therefore the credit balance of its financial flows is Kc4.6 billion.

The largest item on the expenditure side of the Fund since the beginning of the transformation was the industrial debt subsidy in the amount of about Kc22 billion. Then in 1944 there was the state budget subsidy of Kc18.3 billion, the compensation of Kc6 billion to state agricultural enterprises before privatization, and, for example, the assets deposited in the enterprise Mero, which is building and will operate the oil pipeline IKL (Kc5.1 billion). The Fund's outlays in 1994 amounted to Kc39.4 billion, which means that they were higher than its income. Its income last year was Kc32.7 billion.

Toward the end of the year, FNM privatized through transfers without consideration and sales by standard methods (direct sales, auctions, and public tenders) properties in the book value of Kc109.8 billion, and deposited assets in the total book value of Kc746 billion in corporations. The FNM Vice President Cermak noted that at present FNM is still left with some shares from that total in the nominal value of Kc415 billion. At this time they are waiting to be transferred to the real owners, and therefore FNM actually still has to carry out their privatization.

Agricultural Productivity Increases Significantly

95CH0285A Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Jun 95 p 1

[Article by (JAF): "Agriculture Still Showing Loss, but Its Basic Indicators Are at EU Level"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague (JAF)—The basic indicators of Czech agriculture such as, for example, its share in the GDP, employment, and labor productivity, are comparable with agriculture in the EU. Minister of Agriculture Josef Lux made this statement, based on the Green Report which evaluates the state of Czech agriculture in 1994, at yesterday's press conference. The speed of the overall changes in agriculture exceeded that in industry, the minister emphasized. He considers the still low intensity of production, i.e., low outputs and milk yields for example, a certain shortcoming in the agricultural sphere.

The share of agriculture in the GDP has now fallen to 4.5 percent from 5 percent in 1993. (According to the European methodology Eurostat, it is only 3 percent compared to 3.3 percent in 1993.) Despite the decrease in the share in the GDP, labor productivity in agriculture increased last year by 7.2 percent, "whereas in industry productivity grew only 5.2 percent," the minister pointed up. Gross agricultural product for the same period declined by 5.6 percent. The share of the labor force in the total employemnt in the country declined from 6.4 percent in 1993 to last year's 5.1 percent, which corresponds with the level in neighboring Austria, for example. An "indication of reviving agricultural activities" Minister Lux said, are the increasing investments in agriculture, the share of which in total investments increased to 5.4 percent last year. "This was an unmistakable manifestation of the influence of the Assistance and Guaranty Fund, which has arranged credits for agriculture of over 10 billion Czech korunas [Kc] with an average interest rate of 2.6 percent," the minister said. The Fund was established in February last year.

However, farmers' economic results continued to show a loss last year, which was at the level of Kc4.1 billion. The gap between profitable and unprofitable farmers is widening, and last year reached Kc2,200 per hectare of agricultural land compared to the previous Kc1,500 per hectare. "I am convinced that those who are competent were able to make money last year," the minister observed. The worsening results in farming were registered particularly in the mountain and foothills areas, where the government now wants to direct its attention and support cutbacks in agricultural activity by direct subsidies. "However, I am not a supporter of cutbacks, or, to put it differently, having land lie fallow in intensively farmed areas. I prefer changing the structure; for example, switching to the cultivation of technical crops and supporting their use," Minister Lux declared.

Privatization of Auto Industry Completed

95CH0270B Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 3 Jun 95 p 6

[Article by (bo): "Czech Auto Industry Is Waking Up"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The privatization of the Czech auto industry as a whole, which was to be practically completed this year, provides a great opportunity for the revitalization of this industry. This was stated at the press conference, which took place on the occasion of the opening of the Autosalon and Autotec trade fairs,

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by representatives of the Association of Automobile Industry (SDA).

According to the SDA representatives, the revitalization of industrial production, which got under way last year in the Czech Republic, did not affect the auto industry very much, perhaps only with the exception of Avia Letnany. The decline of production against the same period last year continued also in the first quarter of this year, but, of course, in the second quarter an increase in production was already noted. SDA rates positively the approach of the responsible agencies in privatization, especially the Ministry of Industry and Trade and the National Property Fund. According to the SDA representatives, privatization had a positive impact especially on the manufacturers of automotive accessories, who not only managed to maintain their position among the strong foreign competition both in deliveries for the Skoda factory in Mlada Boleslav and for truck and bus manufacturers, but also succeeded in integrating themselves into the world auto industry.

This year the privatization of Avia, Liaz and Motorpal Jihlava should be completed. According to the statement of the SDA chairman Vlastimil Dever, in the next few days the contract with the South Korean company Daewoo-Steyer to become a partner in Avia should be signed. By 13 July of this year there should be prospective partners for the Jablonec Liaz, where the new owner will receive a majority of the shares. And in January the prospective partner for Motorpol Jihlava should be known.

Combining the two trade fairs, which are designed to showcase the production of the auto industry, is considered a helpful idea by SDA. This is reflected also in the strong presentation by Czech firms at both trade fairs.

Agency Announces Support for Research Projects

95CH0270A Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 27 May 95 p 7

[Article by (bo): "Hundreds of Millions for Czech Science Projects"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague (bo)—The Grant Agency of the Czech Republic obtained 610 million korunas [Kc] in 1995 for specifically designated grants to research and development projects. It supported altogether 561 projects started this year with Kc140 million. The rest of the money went to projects continuing from 1993 and 1994. This information comes from a report, just approved by the parliament, on agency's activity in 1994.

As the report says, the Grant Agency supports primarily worthwhile projects in basic research, and scientific and technological projects of primary importance. It contributes mainly to multifield projects and joint projects undertaken by schools of higher learning, institutes of the Academy of Sciences, and departmental R&D labs.

For 1996, the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic accepted 1,750 research projects. The amounts given annualy for the grants awarded thus far do not as a rule exceed Kc1 million. These make it possible to organize creative work groups, provide them with computer technology, small experimental equipment, and assist them in establishing international contacts.

The Agency thinks that it would be highly effective to establish a category of investment grants of "over Kc5-10 million," in which only investment-intensive projects would compete. Its realization would make it possible to equip top-flight labs with modern experimental technology, and thus reduce the present lag behind world standards.

Prague Police Raid Organized Crime Meeting

95CH0273F Prague PRAGUE POST in English 13 Jun 95 p 1

[Article by Kathleen Knox and Eva Munk, with a contribution from Alex Friedrich: "Massive Raid Ends Underworld Birthday"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Acting on information from Interpol in Moscow and an anonymous Russian tip, police raided an exclusive Prague nightclub complex late May 31, netting nearly 200 organized-crime suspects—and later letting them go.

Witnesses reported hearing several shots fired during the sweep on the U Holubu building, a reputed underworld haunt near the Andel metro station. Trams, cars and dozens of passers-by traveling along Stefanikova street were stopped for more than two hours while armed police dressed in black ski masks swarmed the street in front of the complex.

A helicopter hovering overhead scanned the area with a powerful searchlight to prevent rooftop escapes. Ambulance crews stood at the ready.

Police needed a bus and several vans to cart off the suspects—mainly from the former Soviet Union—who included about 50 women, many in various stages of undress.

"You almost felt sorry for them," said a woman who witnessed the raid. "The people were so crammed into the buses they couldn't even sit down. There was one woman there with a baby, but they let her go. They also led out some naked women who only had robes thrown around them."

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This was no ordinary night at U Holubu.

A sign on the club's door indicated that the club would be closed that day for a "private celebration." Colorful balloons and streamers festooned the opulent Persian-carpeted and crystal-chandeliered foyer.

"It was going to be a big rendezvous for mafia from all over Europe," said a waiter who was working at a nearby snack bar.

Interpol indicated that a birthday party for a man called Averin—reportedly a sidekick to Moscow mafia boss "Michajlov"—was to be held the evening of May 31, Interior Ministry spokesman Jan Subert confirmed. Earlier, an anonymous tip in Russian informed police that a man named Mogilevich was to be murdered at U Holubu that night.

Instead of partying all night, U Holubu's guests, including Averin and Michajlov, were herded into the back of police transports and taken in for questioning before being released. Police did not provide the full names of Averin and Michajlov.

No charges were filed, but Deputy Police President Jan Zatorsky said the raid was worthwhile.

"We were informed that a man was going to be murdered there that night," he told the daily MLADA FRONTA DNES. "We stopped that from happening. The raid was important because (now) the mafia won't behave so self-assuredly here."

The raid followed months of monitoring by detectives from the police branch for organized-crime detection. Surveillance suggested "active contacts and meetings among organized-crime suspects" were taking place inside, Subert said.

And, he added, those weren't the only meetings going on. "A number of specially separated and furnished rooms at U Holubu carry all the signs...of a brothel," Subert said.

U Holubu houses the Black and White nightclub, Casino Club 21 and Sakura, a Japanese restaurant whose guest book carries comments from ambassadors, pop stars and several government ministers. All of the establishments were raided.

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Article Sees 'Intelligence Games' Against HZDS

AU2107130195 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA (DO TOHO supplement) in Slovak 13 Jul 95 pp i, iii

[Article by HZDS deputy Roman Hofbauer: "Questions Concerning Intelligence Games"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovak domestic political scene, in the longer-term perspective, is dishing up a number of phenomena whose characteristic features, compared with the other states of Central and East Europe, do not, at first glance, either comply with one another internally or in relation to the European scene. In an article entitled "Intelligence Maneuvers," which was carried by SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA on 4 February 1995 in conjunction with the so-called Orme letter affair, I asked no fewer than 30 questions concerning our domestic and foreign political scene.

The aforementioned series of questions did not evolve by chance but was derived from the happenings and events on our political scene. Many of them can now be answered because the answer has been provided in the report prepared by the National Council of the Slovak Republic (NR SR) Special Supervisory Body (OKO), which was set up to look into the activities of the Slovak Information Service (SIS). Deputies were able to listen to this report at an in camera meeting of the seventh [parliamentary] session, and the readers of the "independent" newspapers SME and NARODNA OBRODA, to which discretion apparently does not apply, were able to read the whole text of it.

We received answers to a number of hitherto unanswered questions. But, at the same time, an even larger number of new questions arose. Let us try to analyze this and identify the unknown body [teleso] at the intersection of the questions and answers.

The OKO report proved that SIS had been employed against the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and against specific people, mainly Vladimir Meciar, prime minister and chairman of the HZDS. It suggested there was not only an official, but an "above standard" link in this affair between the SIS management and President Michal Kovac. The report proved that SIS intelligence officers had been placed directly in the office of Prime Minister Meciar's government and in the center of the HZDS Secretariat. The report also showed that there had been an "above-standard" connection between former Prime Minister Moravcik and the SIS management and the president.

The report revealed the most serious thing of all: a major breakdown in our democratic system, when the secret service of our own state was used against the political entity that had won the elections and against the government and prime minister appointed as a result of these elections. President Michal Kovac acted as the detonator for its downfall in March 1994. Did he act as the detonator of his own volition, or was he merely groomed and used for this purpose as his infamous statement—consisting, obviously, of two parts and two manuscripts—had been handed to him to read?

So, at first glance everything would seem clear and intelligible, and it could seem to the more uninformed citizen that, in the case of the Kovac-Meciar relationship, the issue merely involved a maneuver of "preventive" revenge by the extraordinarily ambitious Michal Kovac, at this time president, against then Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. The manuscript of measures for establishing an unofficial but effective second center of power within the state, however, suggests that other, perhaps even foreign, interests are—patently—reaping a substantial profit from personal ambitions. This indicates that even President Kovac could be merely a secondary executor of plans and concepts formulated elsewhere. Where and by whom?

Do we still remember the affair surrounding the sudden discovery of a bugging device at the U.S. Consulate General in Bratislava in December 1992, on the eve of the birth of the independent Slovak Republic?

World agencies published a report on this sensational "discovery" with a lead time—that is, before the authorities had issued a statement and also before our agencies had reported it. So, on the eve of our state independence, certain forces were involved in an attempt to discredit, on an international level, Slovak statehood and the representatives of this statehood headed by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. That this involved an irrational intelligence action against Slovakia was documented by the fact that the diplomatic mission concerned was unable to furnish any proof of its claims or present the alleged bugging device discovered. On the contrary, the Slovak Interior Ministry's comprehensive documentation on this matter showed, in texts and graphic materials, that this was a false accusation, a mendacious fabrication, and, in the final analysis, obviously a botched intelligence stunt. After the Interior Ministry had handed all of this documentation to our foreign partner, the diplomatic missions then concerned, in Prague and Bratislava, expressed to the Slovak side their interest in papering over this affair. Is it possible that this was just a provocation by former federal intelligence "specialists"? Or was it a provocation by someone else?

There was a change of personnel at the "bugged" embassy; a new charge d'affaires and ambassador arrived.

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President Michal Kovac arrived at Bratislava Castle in 1993. Vladimir Mitro became the director of SIS, and Igor Cibula became head of intelligence. The same Igor Cibula who, after November 1989, went to Prague as the right-hand man of Federal Deputy Interior Minister Viliam Ciklamini and, at that time, was employed in the StB's [State Security's] agency archives.

A coincidence? A happenstance? Are there not rather a lot of these strange coincidences?

Michal Kovac went on many visits abroad and made many contacts before entering office. He has done the same since. It is necessary to state that his contacts have always overstepped his official authority. Let us recall his ministerial scandal involving private U.S. business circles in the "Tatragate" affair. And he had just entered office when the scandalous "Percheron" case, in which Kovac was involved in the sale of Slovak pipelines [produktovody] to a "certain" private U.S. grouping, floated to the surface. This grouping, however, also showed an equally keen interest in Slovak telecommunications and railroads....

After Kovac was elected president, the organizer of his trip to the United States, Tomas Singer, became his personal adviser. Another participant in this trip, Roman Zelenay, died afterwards in a traffic accident in the Czech Republic. His briefcase, containing documents, disappeared from the scene of the accident without a trace.

Are these phenomena not connected at all? Is it just a cluster of coincidences? Is this not just a series of strange unrelated fluke? Was the death of Roman Zelenay not merely a convenient solution as several important figures have departed the Slovak political scene at crucial moments as a consequence of their sudden deaths?

However, let us move on...

Vladimir Meciar's government of the years 1992-94 is associated with a number of phenomena and events that are published on the other side of the ocean and on the European scene at a pace that surpasses the information and telecommunications capacity of ordinary clerks and ordinary workers in telecommunications. The magnitude of some of the events and setups by far surpassed the intellectual capacity of correspondents from newspapers published in Slovakia but financed from abroad. A typical example is the fabrication of "Panic's" letter, which was intended to discredit Meciar's government by means of alleged support for the military conflict in the Balkans. At the time, the Slovak side reacted fast and well, yet several Slovak officials pointed out that it is likely that the work of secret services is behind this dirty action. And, not just a single one.

Does it seem unlikely that an organization from some state or group of states would be interested in destabilizing the government of a young state, a tiny country, in the middle of the continent? It is not at all unlikely. After all, the ruling top brass and hegemons abroad always feel some kind of a bond with the former hegemon of our former unitary state.

Moreover, within the framework of the first wave of privatization, by means of some hard-to-identify investment funds, state property worth billions ended up in the hands of new owners, who are even more difficult to identify. If the funds took over the property worth some 31,000 korunas on the average per privatization coupon holder and issued a fund unit worth 5,600 korunas to each of the investors, the difference of four-fifths of the nominal value of the property privatized in the first wave of privatization disappeared somewhere. State property worth approximately 200-250 billion korunas was to enter in the second wave of privatization, and Meciar's government was hiding neither its ambition to privatize, above all, to benefit Slovak businessmen, nor its intention to leave the strategic sectors of the technical infrastructure in state ownership. Moreover, Meciar's government did not make any secrets of its plans of not including in the coupon privatization the strategic sectors of the economy.

Wars and coups have taken place in the world for even lesser goals than by means of privatization taking over such a property at such a location in Europe. These ambitions are apparently hindered by the obstinate pro-Slovak Meciar government, and the very Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in particular.

Improbable? Too fantastic?

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Border Guard Reports Southern Border 'Dangerous'

LD2107124795 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 21 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The protection of the southern border was one of the topics at the Border Guard's press briefing held today in Pecs. Csaba Belenessy reports:

[Belenessy] At the moment the population of the southern Hungarian villages does not have to be afraid of clashes on Serbian-held Croatian territories. The border zone, however, is dangerous. Those who wander about the area may step on a mine. At night armed Serbs may even shoot those accidentally crossing the border, said Lieutenant Colonel Peter Zambo.

He also said that illegal border crossing attempts are still frequent on the southern border. They are regarded as contravention. They are committed mainly by citizens of Little Yugoslavia and Bosnians who choose this method to enter Hungary.

Fortunately, the number of shootings across the border has decreased. There have only been two incidents of this kind since January. Both happened at Ivandarda, where the armed Serbs targeted the sign marking the Hungarian border.

The heads of Pecs Border Guard directorate said groups of armored vehicles are roaming the roads of the villages by the Drava river only because it is their training period and not because something extraordinary has happened on the other side of the border, or the Border Guard would prepare itself for something of this kind.

Poll Shows Support for Introduction of Visas

AU2207164095 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Jul 95 pp 1, 4

[Unattributed report: "Many People Favor Introduction of Visas"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Commissioned by MAGYAR HIRLAP, the staff of the TeleMedia marketing service asked the opinion of 964 telephone subscribers on the possible introduction of visa requirements with the neighboring countries.

Some 79 percent of the people had heard about the government's intention to introduce visa requirements for citizens of some neighboring countries. Most people would agree with the idea in the case of Ukraine, rump Yugoslavia, and Romania, primarily because they think this would hinder the flow of illegal workers and criminals into Hungary and would also make the activity of smugglers more difficult. At the same time, many people are also aware that the visa requirement would further isolate the ethnic Hungarians living beyond Hungary's borders. Many people do not worry too much about this, however, because they think that different visa regulations would apply to ethnic Hungarians living in the neighboring countries compared with the non-Hungarian nationals. All this transpires from the opinion poll carried out by TeleMedia.

As customary, males, people over the age of 40, and people with a higher education level were more informed than the average. TeleMedia staff first read seven statements to the people they called up, and asked them the extent to which they agreed: fully, mostly, partly, or not at all. Four of the seven statements were in favor of introducing the visa requirement, and three were against it.

The overall analysis of the results showed that the people who answered can be listed into three groups. The first group mostly agreed with both the arguments for and against. There are two reasons for this: 1. In the case of uncertainty in the course of opinion polls, it is generally easier to say yes than no; 2. These people are ambivalent in connection with the idea of introducing visa requirements. Some 23 percent of the people surveyed belong to this group. The second group was made up of people who mostly agreed with the arguments for, but they did not agree with the arguments against. This group includes 42 percent of the people surveyed. The third group consisted of people who favor the arguments against, some 35 percent. Of course, this proportion differs regarding the various social strata. There are more "ambivalent" and fewer "opposers" among males, compared with females. The 18-29 age group are firm, but they are most divided in the issue at hand, and the smallest number of "opposers" and most "ambivalent" can be found among people over 60. Most high school graduates mostly agree with the arguments against, and a relative majority of lesser educated people are more prone to arguments in favor of introducing the visa requirement. People in Budapest and county seats are more firm in their position, while arguments against find little support among people living in small communities and villages.

Only 21 percent of the people surveyed rejected the idea categorically. They think the introduction of visa requirement is unjustified toward any of our neighbors. Some 10 percent were unable to take a position on any of our seven neighbors, but 69 percent would agree with visa requirements for the citizens of one or several neighboring countries. Moreover, 12 percent of the people surveyed believe in a total visa requirement, including Austria. People who agree with the arguments for a visa requirement, would introduce visa requirements for 4.8 countries; the ambivalent people would do the

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same for 3.8 countries, and even people accepting the arguments against would do so for 2 countries. Even people who agree with the argument that this would further isolate the ethnic Hungarians living beyond our borders would introduce the visa requirement for Romanian citizens. Some 30 percent of the people surveyed have relatives, acquaintances, and friends living in the neighboring countries (14 percent of them have relatives in Transylvania), but the opinions of these people who are more directly affected hardly differ from those who are not directly affected. However, this data does not mean that the people would like to isolate the ethnic Hungarians living beyond our borders. A relative majority of the people surveyed find it possible that some kind of a positive discrimination will be applied to ethnic Hungarians at the borders. Surprisingly, this idea is most popular among supporters of the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] and the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], parties that once took a belligerent stand in favor of universal human rights.

Deputy Prime Ministerial Position Deliberated

AU2207164695 Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 22 Jul 95 pp 68, 73

[Article by Janos Dobszay: "Debate on Deputy Prime Ministerial Position—Forger of New Man"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Gyula Horn opened a multifront fight last week when he held out the prospect of recreating a deputy prime ministerial position as in the period before the regime's change. Neither the opposition nor the minor coalition party support the change in governmental structure. Presumably the latter does not support it partly for prestige reasons: The prime minister went public with his plans on reducing the finance minister's scope of authority without formerly coordinating this with the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ].

"The Hungarian Constitution does not recognize the concept of economic deputy prime minister. It is absolutely necessary for the finance minister to head the economic cabinet for this body to discuss all economic-related issues, and that it should not be possible to submit any economic issues to the government sessions without the finance minister's agreement," Finance Minister Lajos Bokros, still a candidate for the position, wrote in his 25-point draft program in February 1995. Five months ago it seemed that his views corresponded to Horn's ideas: Horn initialed the list and briefly expressed agreement.

It is not known whether the proposal to create a new governmental status, namely the deputy prime minister responsible for economic issues, indicates Horn's shaken confidence in Bokros, or whether he decided to take a step toward rationalizing the government's operation independent of the finance minister. At any rate, last week Horn even disclosed the date—30 September—when the new government member should take office. In accordance with the government's "Hungary in the New Europe" modernization program, the new deputy prime minister, who would primarily be assigned to work out the cabinet's long-term economic policy strategy, would also take over leadership of the economic cabinet—which prepares government decisions—from the finance minister. The planned measures would obviously mean that Bokros would be brought under a kind of "guardianship," a subordinate role compared to his 25 points. This would not essentially be changed even if Horn's idea of last week were implemented, according to which the leadership of the economic cabinet would remain with the finance minister. In addition to this, the government's recently published modernization program does not reveal whether the new deputy prime minister, the program says, would, in addition to dealing with economic issues, be assigned with improving the coordination of governmental work, would only be a nominal deputy prime minister, or he would actually take over this "privilege" from the finance minister.

Apart from the prime minister's intention not being perfectly clear, it is also unclear whether the minor government party opposes the establishment of the deputy prime minister's position in defense of Bokros or for other considerations. The SZDSZ leaders' main counterargument says that the establishment of the new governmental status would be contrary to the Constitution in force which states: "The government consists of prime minister and ministers." At any rate, amending the Constitution, which is one way of dispelling the legality worries, does not seem like an easy road to take. This would require four-fifths of parliament's votes, which means those of the MSZP, the SZDSZ, and some opposition members, too. Another solution might be the one already recommended by the Prime Ministerial Office's expert staff, namely the economic top man should be a minister without portfolio, rather than a deputy prime minister. It is true, though, that this would contradict the Socialists' election program which states: "The minister without portfolio position's existence, importance, and proportion within the government is rather worrying." It is a different matter that, up to now, the Socialists have not been very rigid when they had to "interpret" this section of their program, which is indicated by the fact that the secret services have been supervised by a minister without portfolio since the Horn's cabinet's entry into office last July, and the same stands for privatization matters since

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February 1995 (these two positions also existed in the criticized predecessor government).

The passing thought of recreating the deputy prime ministerial position—the office of Hungary's last deputy prime minister, Peter Medgyessy, ended on 23 May 1990—was already raised at the coalition talks last June. However, the negotiating partners rejected the idea, just as they rejected the plan to create an economic top ministry run by Laszlo Bekesi. The agreement that concluded the talks and was signed by Horn and SZDSZ Chairman Ivan Peto only mentions the "prime minister's coalition deputy," which can only be interpreted in the government parties's relationship. The coalition deputy prime minister position has not yet appeared in any legal provisions. We can only derive [Coalition Deputy Prime Minister and Interior Minister] Gabor Kuncze's special status from the fact that, since the amendment of the government procedures in September 1994, the interior minister's agreement has been necessary for the most important government decisions.

The SZDSZ's leaders believe that the efficiency of the government's work would not improve even if the cabinet was expanded. According to them, the tensions within the government are not due to structural deficiencies. Instead of creating a new government position, it would undoubtedly be possible to find other solutions to avoid such coalition "malpractices" like the one the minor coalition party's leaders are again complaining about: They only saw a version of the modernization program that did not include reference to a deputy prime minister.

Of course, it is not at all the government's efficiency or the extra expenses of a new government member's office that are at stake in the current debate. (According to estimates of the Prime Minister's Office, establishing the deputy prime minister's office would cost some 20 to 30 million forints [Ft], which seems to be somewhat underestimated in light of the fact that, when State Secretary Janos Nemcsok's office at the Prime Minister's Office was set up last month—he is to be responsible for coordinating the governmental tasks in connection with lake Balaton—the government set aside Ft24.4 million from the budget to cover the expenses of the new state secretarial apparatus.) The June 1994 coalition agreement only determined the proportion of ministries to be shared by the parties. There is no doubt, of course, that the party which provides the economic deputy prime minister will get into a key position. The SZDSZ leaders' reluctance is also understandable because they did not manage to get such "targeted" government positions as the national security or justice ministry chairs at last year's coalition talks.

Only speculations have so far been seen on who is to become future deputy prime minister; however, none of the mentioned people are "SZDSZ men." (NEPSZABADSAG and MAGYAR HIRLAP raised the names of MSZP parliamentary group leader Imre Szekeres; trade union leaders Sandor Nagy and Peter Medgyessy, chairman and general director of the Hungarian Investment and Development Bank; and Andras Inotai, director of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences World Economic Research Institute; however, neither newspaper reported on official information.) It is certain that the appointment of an economic deputy prime minister could hardly be counterbalanced by handing over a ministerial chair. Multiplication of the deputy prime ministerial position could possibly satisfy the coalition partner; however, this would definitely contradict the prime minister's government program announced exactly one year ago which promised "inexpensive state and inexpensive public administration." The government already has 12 ministers and two ministers without portfolio, some 36 state secretaries are working in the Prime Minister's Office and the ministries, and with the acceptance of the Bokros package, since 1 July, the government could increase the ministries' possible deputy state secretarial positions from four to five.

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Izetbegovic, Silajdzic Comment on London Summit

LD2207193195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [First announcer] Yesterday's London conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina is over. Its conclusions are not substantially different from the past gathering, which watered down [words indistinct]. Foreign diplomats did not miss their opportunity to condemn Karadzic's Serbs for the committed crimes, but even the condemnation was very mild.

Alija Izetbegovic, president of the State Presidency, made the following statement about the London summit for German TV [name indistinct] station:

[Second announcer] I did not expect anything from the London summit, but what was agreed is in any case better than nothing.

[First announcer] Here is how Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic commented the London summit:

[Second announcer] The summit's outcome is just a half measure. [passage indistinct]

Silajdzic: World Community Has 'Given In' Again

AU2207191095 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1700 GMT 22 Jul 95

[Report on statement by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Stefan Pauli; place and date not given—recorded, Silajdzic in English with superimposed German translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serbs reacted to the Bosnia talks in London with a stick and a carrot. At noon they allowed a UN convoy to take food and other relief goods to Sarajevo. The 270 tons are just enough for the most urgent needs. With such actions, the Serbs want to brush up their image toward the outside. Besides, they receive almost one-quarter of all goods.

And that is part two of their answer: They shelled residential areas and the presidential palace. At least eight people have been killed and 30 injured since last night. The Serbs are demonstrating who decides about life and death in the country, regardless of what the international community may decide.

Bosnian Prime Minister Silajdzic reacted bitterly:

[Silajdzic] The international community has once again given in. It has accepted the attack on Srebrenica, the expulsion, and the attack on Zepa. The Serbs will regard that as justification, as a license for further attacks.

[Pauli] As if to confirm that, Serb television showed pictures of the recent offensive against the enclave of Bihac. According to UN information, Serbs from Croatia are said to have conquered more than 50 square kilometers in the past few days, across the international border between Croatia and Bosnia. Since the area is outside the safe area itself, the United Nations sees no reason at all to take action.

Sacirbegovic: OIC Offers Aid, Arms Suplies

LD2207161395 Bern Swiss Radio International in English 1300 GMT 22 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] As the international community continues to be divided over how to respond to Serb aggression against United Nations-declared safe heavens in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Contact Group of the Organization of Islamic Conference has been meeting in Geneva to discuss the Bosnian crisis. They were joined by Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic. Gordon Martin reports.

[Martin] Mr. Sacirbegovic, like his prime minister, Mr. Silajdzic in Sarajevo, was openly scornful of the outcome of the London meeting. His presence at the Geneva gathering was an indication of loss of confidence of what was going on in London, he said. They have come to rely on the practical commitments made by friends within the Islamic Organization and elsewhere. The London meeting had made no new commitments and had merely reaffirmed some old ones. It seemed there was even disagreement among the participants in the London talks that suggests how strong that affirmation was. In London, he said, there had been failure to react to the urgent need to protect threatened enclaves.

[Begin Sacirbegovic recording] We await to see that in fact those commitments will be executed when necessary. It seems that there is a very short memory when it comes to the issue of Bosnia-Herzegovina. At the same time, we note that the London Conference did not specifically address the most urgent need of the people of Zepa, Bihac, and we think that this is a cruel position taken by London allowing people who in fact had been promised in the past to be protected against Serbian aggression, to be ignored at a time when that very aggression is most dangerous to their very existence. [end recording]

[Martin] Mr. Sacirbegovic disclosed that he had received promises of arms supplies from several countries at Geneva. The Islamic ministers gathered there had declared the UN arms embargo against Bosnia invalid and they would act accordingly. Mr. Sacirbegovic said the mission of the UN Protection Force, UNPROFOR, was at an end. It had been flawed and had failed. The Islamic ministers had discussed alternatives to it to create a new framework for action by Islamic countries and

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others who wished to help. It was not the intention to create a new fighting force, but it would involve further meetings of military commanders and defence ministers to assist Bosnia in a way that did not undermine its territorial integrity or sovereignty. The Geneva meeting had also agreed to promote an international coalition of Islamic and non-Islamic states to help Bosnia defend itself against genocide.

This is Gordon Martin in Geneva.

'Exert Pressure' on FRY

AU2107170395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 21 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic today demanded that the international community exert pressure on the so-called Yugoslavia [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—FRY] to recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina so that peace could be achieved. He proposed that the sanctions on Belgrade be lifted as a reward, or that they be increased as a (?punishment).

Sacirbegovic met Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati and Greek Foreign Minister Papoulias in Athens today. The three ministers discussed ways of establishing peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Today's meeting in Athens will serve to set a framework for a diplomatic solution, which we hope will soon be achieved, Sacirbegovic said at a news conference after the meeting.

Izetbegovic, Turkey's Demirel End Talks

AU2107140495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 Jul 95

[Report by Velida Kulenovic from Zenica]

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Suleyman Demirel, president of the Republic of Turkey, and members of their delegation have today held talks in Zenica. Velida Kulenovic reports:

[Kulenovic] This morning, the two presidents held talks in the presence of the members of their delegations. Our delegation includes Army General Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Hajrudin Somun, ambassador of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Turkey, and Hasan Muratovic and Bakir Alispahic, ministers in the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Turkish delegation includes (Cerik Bir), head of operations in the General Staff of the Army of the Republic of Turkey, Sukru Tufan, ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to our country, and (Omur Oymen), formerly ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to Germany.

After the talks, Mr. Alija Izetbegovic and Mr. Suleyman Demirel and members of the delegation attended a service in the town's mosque.

They are currently holding a news conference, on which we will be reporting in subsequent news programs.

As planned, Demirel will be visiting the command of the Turkish battalion in Zenica.

Call For Preventive Air Strikes

AU2107165895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 21 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] During the talks between Suleyman Demirel, president of the Republic of Turkey, and Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Zenica today, the two sides decided to ask the Contact Group, which is meeting in London today, to adopt without delay a decision on NATO air strikes that would prevent further attacks on the UN protected areas and avoid a new humanitarian catastrophe.

The two presidents held one-on-one talks during which they confirmed the wish to strengthen bilataral cooperation in all areas. They both agreed that the Bosniak-Croat federation, which is open to the Bosnian Serbs, is a firm basis for achieving a stable solution.

Croats, Muslims Raise Combat Readiness to Maximum

LD2207190695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1725 GMT 22 Jul 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 22 (TANJUG)—Combat readiness has been raised to the highest level at the separation lines between Bosnian Croats and Muslims in northern Herzegovina and in the Lasva River valley, central Bosnia, the Bosnian Croat radio said Saturday [22 July].

The radio carried a Presidential Council of Herzeg-Bosnia statement which said the security situation deteriorated after a Croat armed attack Thursday on a bus at Uskoplje (formerly Gornji Vakuf) transporting Muslim civilians and after Muslims and Croats clashed at Vitez, central Bosnia, Friday.

The radio reported Friday both sides sustained casualties in the clashes, as the Muslim Sarajevo radio said one bus passenger was killed and two seriously wounded.

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The Presidential Council of Herzeg-Bosnia said traffic between northern Herzegovina and central Bosnia had been interrupted as the Muslims blocked the Uskoplje-Novi Travnik road section, and the Croats, the Travnik-Vitez-Kaonik road.

Prior to forming a federation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in March 1994, the Croats and Muslims clashed heavily for nearly a full year for territories with mixed population, especially in Herzegovina and central Bosnia.

The Federation, formed under strong U.S. pressure, never began to function. It has a president and a government, while the constituent assembly has several times began and interrupted work. At local level, joint organs of authority were never formed, as the Federation partners exchange mutual recriminations for obstruction.

The Herzeg-Bosnia radio Saturday reported also that the local authorities in Tuzla, a Muslim-controlled city in northeastern Bosnia, decided to accommodate in the homes of Croats who left about 7,000 Muslims from Srebrenica, a Muslim enclave in eastern Bosnia the Bosnian Serbs took over last Tuesday.

The radio said the decision outraged the remaining Croats, causing high disturbance and concern among them.

It also reported from Mostar, central Herzegovina, that the E.U. deputy administrator in this city said the Tuzla Muslim authorities' decision would reflect very negatively on Muslim-Croat relations in Mostar as well.

Parties Urge Reevaluation of UNPROFOR

AU2407095595 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jul 95 p 7

[Article by S. Luckin: "Srebrenica, the First Station for Departure"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Is Srebrenica, or rather the inefficiency of the peacekeeping forces in protecting the population of this town, reason enough to dispute the status of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in Bosnia-Herzegovina? According to the first reactions of the political parties, state organs will soon have to determine their attitude towards the way UN forces will be treated in the future.

Stanko Sliskovic, vice president of the Croatian Peasants' Party [HSS] of Bosnia-Herzegovina, two days ago announced that this party, through legal state organs, is going to initiate the reconsideration of any further stay of the UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Besides, the HSS warned that the international community, through its behavior towards Bosnia-Herzegovina, had become a partner in the aggression. The leadership of the Union of Social Democrats of Bosnia-Herzegovina announced that, unless the world community energetically intervened in the Srebrenica case, they would ask the parliament of the republic to reconsider the justification and conditions for any further presence of the UN forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

They Do Not Even Protect Themselves

"The UNPROFOR, the way it is now, is not needed any more," Gradimir Gojer, vice president of the Social Democratic Party [SDP], categorically said. He believes that the government should take a very critical attitude towards the UN forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and make new rules for their behavior on the free territories. "The present UN forces, just like the Rapid Reaction Force [RRF], must work on the enforcement of the Security Council resolutions, and that without exceptions, or else they should go," the SDP vice president said. He added that the 25,000 Blue Helmets that are in Bosnia-Herzegovina at present are not even able to protect themselves, and particularly not the protected areas and the citizens in them. Besides, they constantly threaten that they will leave Bosnia-Herzegovina. "However, when the question of their departure is posed by the legal authorities of Bosnia-Herzegovina, there comes a dilettante cannonade of statements claiming that those are only plans that are being examined," Gradimir Gojer concluded.

Ismet Grbo, the spokesman of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA], reminded that until now the official attitude of Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities was that the presence of the UNPROFOR, despite its obvious inefficiency, was useful. First of all, there existed the hope that the UN forces will succeed in protecting the protected areas, and they were also considered useful for controlling the sky above Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"After the events of Srebrenica, the responsibility of the UNPROFOR will definitely be analyzed, and, based upon the conclusions reached, we will form our attitude towards their status," Grbo said.

He says that the mandate of the UN forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina expires in several months anyway, which will be a good opportunity to define their status. However, Grbo believes that the events of Srebrenica have unfortunately confirmed that not only the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the followers of Karadzic participate the aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also that a big role is being played by the international community.

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Counting Shells

The secretary general of the Liberal Bosniak Organization, Esad Afgan, said that already a year ago his party had requested a more determined course towards UNPROFOR, because of their inefficiency in Sarajevo. "In the Srebrenica case we will demand a reestablishment of the protected area, or else the departure of the UN forces. After all, they did not come to Bosnia-Herzegovina to be street cleaners," he said. That practically means that the government must seriously examine the position of the UN forces, and explicitly demand that they either do their job, or leave.

Mujo Kafedzic, vice president of the Muslim Bosniak Organization [MBO], is also for a more determined course towards the UN forces. "They have to protect the population, and not play observers and count shells," Kafedzic said. He reminded that the MBO had already warned the government that they could not count on the UNPROFOR as a meaningful factor in the protection of the protected areas. "Their status, duties, and tasks should definitely be reconsidered, and, with the help of international friends, if Bosnia-Herzegovina still has any, we should ask the Security Council to accept that," the vice president of the MBO explained. He also believes that the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in case the protected area of Srebrenica is not reestablished, should definitely deny their hospitality to the UN forces.

Zvonimir Uskokovic, secretary general of the Croatian Party of Rights [HSP], sees the tragedy of Srebrenica as yet another evidence that the international community rewards aggression. "For a year now, we have been demanding that the Contact Group plan be rejected, because through it the international community is trying to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina," Uskokovic believes. For him, the solution lies in convening a United Nations General Assembly session, which would be entirely devoted to Bosnia-Herzegovina and the succession of former Yugoslavia. As for the UNPROFOR itself, the HSP thinks that they should leave Bosnia-Herzegovina, but not before the arms embargo is lifted. Until then they have to fulfill the duties given to them by the Security Council resolutions.

Pilots Say NATO Rules Limit Effectiveness

BR2007141295 Paris LE MONDE in French 20 Jul 95 p 3

[Report by Jacques Isnard: "NATO's Missed Opportunity in Srebrenica"]

[FBIS Translated Text] For lack of any spotters on the ground to identify targets during the fighting that led to the fall of Sbrebrenica, NATO aircraft were unable to hit anything, contrary to what was claimed by allied military chiefs in the wake of the 11 July air strike. French intelligence sources confirm this fact after examining the conditions of the NATO air strikes intended to stop the Serbian offensive against the Muslim enclave. NATO was to have carried out three strikes on that day. Finally, only two runs were completed, the third being halted by the Netherlands. In all, one Serbian T-55 tank was taken out and a few trucks destroyed.

In Srebrenica, the UN safe area was maintained by 780 Dutch Blue Helmets. When, on 11 July, the NATO planes flew overhead the spotters, according to intelligence at French chiefs of staff, had left their positions. A French general said: "The planes were in the air, their pilots had good visibility, but no targets had been identified for their mission because the ground controllers supposed to guide them in had left their positions."

Discussion Among Pilots

Obviously the pilots, risking their necks by flying at low altitude, could see their targets, including Serbian tanks, but NATO rules of engagement are clear and must be respected: Targets must be precisely pointed out to them from the ground. This was not the case in this instance, since there were no spotters to guide their attack. This rule was conceived to limit as far as possible any "collateral" damage on the ground, that is to say purposeless destruction and loss of civilian life.

This is why certain officials of the NATO force placed at the United Nations' disposal are now drawing their own conclusions from such bungled missions, considering that it would be preferable militarily to establish, from the outset of planning action of this kind, a line beyond which the pilots would be authorized to fire if they were convinced of having their targets in sight.

Generally speaking, the pilots complain about these operational restrictions. In particular, they find that the NATO procedures are too cumbersome and, to quote the same general officer: "You end up tying your air arm behind your back." He added: "Restricting the fire power of a plane to just a tank has no military significance since it comes down to under utilization and this undermines the credibility of the air force." Helicopters armed with rockets and missiles would be far more effective.

This discussion among pilots conceals another, more strategic argument. Bosnia has shown that modern air forces have lost their know-how in terms of providing what is called "close" air support. That means protecting troops on the ground with planes that fire on the

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opposition forces, trying to distinguish, as far as possible, friend from foe, and that is a complex and risky business.

Until now, the air force has preferred in-depth attacks on the enemy's military mechanisms, command posts, supply dumps behind the lines, and second-wave reinforcements, using aircraft flying at low altitude over vast tracts of enemy territory. Where close air support is concerned, planes now tend to fire on their targets from a respectable distance away, for fear of being caught up in antiaircraft fire and to protect the pilots, but often their weapons are not suited for this kind of attack or lack the necessary precision. This is why ground spotters are needed and, when this is suddenly lacking, the effectiveness of the mission is seriously jeopardized.

UN: RRF Heavy Guns To Protect Sarajevo

AU2307133495 Paris AFP in English 0921 GMT 23 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 23 (AFP)—Heavy guns from the Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] are to be deployed to protect Sarajevo following a series of Serb attacks on peacekeepers in the Bosnian capital, a UN spokesman said Sunday [23 July]. "Artillery elements of the multinational force have been ordered to deploy to reinforce Sarajevo. Their mission is to respond to attacks on Sarajevo," Lieutenant Colonel Chris Vernon, a UN spokesman said.

Vernon gave no further details. The multinational force is one element of the Rapid Reaction Force sent by the British, French, and Dutch Governments to reinforce peacekeepers on the ground in Bosnia.

The troops are much better armed than the peacekeepers. Their weaponry includes artillery field guns. French heavy mortars are already deployed on Mount Igman, overlooking the city, and have been used against Serb gunpositions attacking UN convoys using a road on the mountain.

On Saturday two French peacekeepers were killed in separate Serb attacks on peacekeepers in the city. Three other French soldiers were wounded and a Danish peacekeeper injured in the incidents.

Two of the wounded French nationals were evacuted to the Croatian port of Split on Sunday.

Deployment on Mt. Igman Detailed

LD2307174095 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1700 GMT 23 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] About 500 French troops of the Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] are on their way to Sarajevo. They left their camp in western Bosnia this afternoon to go and support the UN peacekeepers in the sector of the Bosnian capital. Four hundred British artillerymen are doing likewise. Last night two French UN soldiers were killed by Serb fire in and around Sarajevo. Jean-Pierre Laborde is there:

[Laborde] Two columns of troops set off this afternoon. It was 1710. The Rapid Reaction Force was off in the direction of Sarajevo. Five hundred French legionnaires left Tomislavgrad in western Bosnia, and given the travelling time needed, could be climbing the first slopes of Mount Igman in the early hours of the morning.

The French are taking 12 AMX-10 APCs, six mortars, and two 105mm batteries. Six hundred British troops are leaving Vitez, in central Bosnia: Scots from the 19th Infantry Regiment, with two artillery batteries.

Today the British and French artillerymen met in the ruins of the Igman Hotel, the headquarters of the French 5th Battalion, with their maps, identifying the posts from which Serb firing had come.

On Mount Igman French mortars painted in UN colors fired 90 shells last night after the Serb attacks. Three salvos of 30 shots, each lasting two minutes, which hit a tank, an antitank gun, and a mortar battery, the Serb weapons used for the attacks on Saturday evening.

UK Troops Arrive; Portillo Comments

LD2407090695 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 0715 GMT 24 Jul 95

[Report by Nick Robinson]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A vanguard of 250 British troops took up position on Mount Igman today as part of the Task Force Alpha mission to protect the besieged Bosnian capital of Sarajevo.

Captain Sam Hudson, a British Forces spokesman in Split, said: "All the 'recce' [as received] elements are now in the Mount Igman area."

The advance contingent included the 100-strong A squadron of the Household Cavalry and 150 infantry troops from A company of the Devon and Dorset Regiment together with 15 Warrior armoured personnel carriers.

"The recce squadron went ahead to mark the route and report on any problems, mark out positions and guide people into location as they arrive."

Some of the 12 105mm guns of the 19th field regiment of the Royal Artillery, despatched to Mount Igman with the Task Force, had arrived and were being dug in.

The British will be joined on Igman by 500 French Foreign Legionnaires backed by light tanks.

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They were deployed on Sunday after Bosnian Serbs killed two French peacekeepers and wounded three others and a Dane in attacks on Saturday.

Capt. Hudson said: "Some guns and some engineer support have reached the area. The rest of the engineers will arrive with the French convoys."

He added: "The French have not arrived. Their vehicles are still painted green and they have been held up at checkpoints along the route."

All British vehicles in the Task Force are in the familiar white colours of the United Nations.

Capt. Hudson said the rest of the British contingent and guns should be dug in within the next 24 hours.

The British vanguard who made the perilous journey through the hills around Sarajevo had met no resistance from Bosnian Serb forces laying siege to the city.

Task Force Alpha threatens to bring UN forces into direct confrontation with the Bosnian Serb Army.

The mission comprises 1,300 British troops, 500 French, and nearly 200 Dutch soldiers with heavy mortars.

It is designed to protect the 5,000 peacekeepers in Sarajevo and UN convoys using the mountain route into the capital.

Defence Secretary Michael Portillo yesterday stressed there was "no shift towards war" and said the troops would continue to fulfil the UN's peacekeeping mandate in the former Yugoslavia.

He said the force's role was to protect UN personnel and "to try and bring some peace and security...wherever that is possible, and enable humanitarian convoys to reach people who would otherwise be starving. If we could have a secure overland route that would be the best guarantee of survival for Sarajevo and its people."

Mr. Portillo added: "There is no shift in any sense from peacekeeping to war fighting. We simply wish to provide protection to peacekeepers who are trying to save lives in Bosnia."

A spokesman for the British Forces in Vitez said the troops were "being operationally deployed but we are not at war. We are still working to the UN mandate."

NATO ambassadors were today expected to consider a more flexible system for authorising and launching air strikes, in the light of changes demanded by the international conference on Bosnia held in London last week.

Mr. Portillo today warned the Bosnian Serbs they faced "very substantial" air attacks if they pressed ahead with the assault on Gorazde.

He stressed: "We are moving away, if this happens, from the mere tit-for-tat response. We are moving into something bigger and would unfold over a period of time if that attack against Gorazde were sustained."

Mr. Portillo told BBC Radio 4's Today programme that if the Bosnian Serbs continued to harass humanitarian convoys and to kill UN soldiers "there will be a response from these troops who are to protect these soldiers."

He said the Reaction Force had a greater capability than soldiers stationed in the area before but their equipment was still very much for defence.

"They don't have tanks. They are not there to go and storm anywhere or attack anyone. We want this to have a deterrent effect. We don't want to get into the business of fighting anybody or killing anybody. Our business is to save lives, not to take lives."

On Gorazde, Mr. Portillo said the Bosnian Serbs should take seriously the warning delivered to them "that if they attack Gorazde there will be a very substantial air response. It means that a campaign of bombing would then unroll. It would be a joint action between Nato and the UN and it would unroll with the effect of stopping Bosnian Serbs from taking Gorazde."

Meanwhile, 12 RAF [Royal Air Force] Harrier GR7 aircraft left their base in Germany today to begin duties on NaTO's Operation Deny Flight over the former Yugoslavia.

The Harriers, from Number IV (Army Co-operation) Squadron, at Laarbruch, will operate from the Italian Air Force base at Gioia del Colle, near Taranto, and will formally take over duties from RAF Jaguar aircraft on August 1.

Their mission will include the provision of protective air cover for UN ground forces.

The Harrier GR7 is capable of short strip take-offs and vertical landings and is used in ground attack and reconnaissance roles.

It carries infrared equipment which, when used with pilots' night vision goggles, gives a night low-level capability.

UN Spokeswoman on Mission

AU2407082895 Paris AFP in English 0811 GMT 24 Jul 95

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, July 24 (AFP)—Several hundred British soldiers from the Rapid Reaction Force arrived Monday on the outskirts of Sarajevo

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while in northeast Bosnia, the Bihac enclave remained tense following a major Serb offensive, UN officials said. "Around 300 British troops and equipment are now deployed on Mount Igman," Myriam Sochacki, a UN spokeswoman said. [passage omitted]

"They arrived overnight and will complete their deployment today," Sochacki said. [passage omitted]

UN officials described their mission as being to "respond to attacks on Sarajevo." However, this will be limited to those attacks on UN peacekeepers themselves.

Shelling attacks on the civilian population in the capital where eight people died and 36 were injured on Sunday according to government figures will not illicit [elicit] a response, a UN spokesman said. [passage omitted]

Sochacki said Serb forces who attacked the Bihac enclave on Sunday had gained ground in their three-pronged offensive against the Bosnian Army 5th Corps.

"The enclave is tense and it appears there has been a change of the confrontation line," Sochacki said. [passage omitted]

Thousands of refugees were reported to have fled the fighting in the west of the enclave from where the so-called Krajina Serb army attacked from territory it controls in Croatia.

In Zepa, a UN safe area in eastern Bosnia, Bosnian Government defenders maintain their hold on the town, despite several days of shelling bombardment of the town from the Bosnian Serb forces that ring the area, Sochacki said. [passage omitted]

The UN mission however has remained mute on its obligation under a UN resolution to deter attacks against the Zepa safe area.

Despite strong words from the capitals that further Serb attacks on UN safe areas in Bosnia will "not be tolerated," it appears the threat of NATO action is limited to attacks on the UN safe area of Gorazde only. [passage omitted]

NATO ambassadors were also to meet Monday in Brussels to fine-tune plans for possible airstrikes on Serb targets in the event of further attacks on so-called safe areas. [passage omitted]

Witness Reports 'Big Explosion' Over Pale

AU2307135295 Paris AFP in English
1201 GMT 23 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 23 (AFP)—A big explosion was heard Sunday afternoon [23 July] in the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Pale, just after a warplane apparently belonging to NATO overflew the region, a witness said. However a NATO spokesman speaking from its command base in Naples, Italy, denied any NATO planes had flown above the town. Major Nigel Branston said NATO was trying to establish where the reported explosions occurred and if any other aircraft had overflown the area.

The witness in Pale said the aircraft flew at low altitude over the town at 1:00 PM (1100 GMT) and a general alert was sounded. The explosion was heard moments later but its exact location could not immediately be determined.

Some 15 minutes later residents said they saw a cloud of smoke rising from behind a hill to the west of the town which lies just outside Sarajevo.

The incident comes after two French peacekeepers were killed by Bosnian Serbs in separate incidents in Sarajevo late Saturday, prompting the United Nations to announce that heavy guns from the Rapid Reaction Force would be deployed to protect the Bosnian capital.

UN spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Chris Vernon said there had been no request by the United Nations for air strikes and he had no explanation for the report.

NATO Denies Air Operations

AU2407130195 Paris AFP in English
1241 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 24 (AFP)—Five explosions were heard in this Bosnian Serb stronghold Monday [24 July] as unidentified planes flew over, witnesses said. The witnesses could not provide details regarding the number of planes or their origin. A general alert was immediately declared.

In both Brussels and Naples, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) officials said the alliance had nothing to do with the blasts. "There has been no NATO operation over Pale," a spokesman for NATO Southern Command said. [passage omitted]

In Sarajevo, a UN official said there was a NATO "Deny Flight" aircraft over Pale at the time of the explosions but that he could "firmly deny" that there was any request for NATO airstrikes. [passage omitted]

Serbs Fire on Zepa as Surrender Talks Break Down

AU2107180095 Paris AFP in English
1734 GMT 21 Jul 95

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, July 21 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs blasted the Zepa UN safe area Friday

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[21 July] as talks between the Bosnian Government and Serb representatives in Sarajevo broke down over conditions for the surrender of the enclave. The town came under "intense mortar bombardment" early Friday afternoon for a period as delegates from the two parties met in confidential talks at Sarajevo's airport, a UN official said. [passage omitted]

An attempt by a UN liaison team Friday to reach Zepa to facilitate negotiations on the ground was blocked by the Serbs, who refused the team of civil and military officials access to the enclave. Meanwhile Ukrainian peacekeepers in Zepa also found themselves at odds with the local Bosnian defenders. At 3:30 p.m. (1330 GMT) the Bosnian Army local commander, Avdo Palic, threatened to open fire on the Ukrainians' base if a UN delegation did not come into the town. By this time however, the liaison team was already on its way back to Sarajevo.

On Thursday evening Palic's forces attacked the Ukrainians' compound with mortars and rocket-propelled grenades, destroying the first storey of their barracks, an attack condemned by the UN as "outrageous."

Few details emerged from the failed talks at the capital's airport. Discussions focused on conditions for the surrender of the town's civilians and soldiers, UN officials said. [passage omitted]

Amor Masovic, chief of the Bosnian commission for the exchange of prisoners, said: "The negotiations did not lead to any success." Masovic said the government held some 200 Serb soldiers but was being asked to exchange them for several thousand government troops.

UN officials in Sarajevo said they could not predict the outcome of the stand-off between the two sides, now in its second day. "The best outcome for us would be if the Serbs withdrew from around the enclave. If we don't succeeed in negotiatating this, and we probably won't, then the best outcome is the safe passage of civilians with security guarantees provided for all civilians, including males, that at their own free will, want to leave the enclave," said UN spokesman Alexander Ivanko.

Dutch peacekeepers who had been deployed in the Srebrenica enclave, which fell to the Bosnian Serbs last week, left the area for Zagreb on Friday. By early afternoon the 310 Dutch peacekeepers and all their equipment had reached Serbia, UN spokeswoman Sochacki said. [passage omitted]

Elsewhere in Bosnia, tensions remained high in another government enclave, Bihac, in the northwest of the country. This follows a second day of attacks by Serb forces in neighbouring Croatia on Thursday.

Several hundred explosions rocked front lines along the enclave's western flank during Thursday's attacks, and Bosnian Army sources said they had lost control of two villages.

Local sources reported in Bihac that three people including a child were killed and 20 wounded as Croatian Serbs continued their offensive action. UN officials could not confirm the military activity. [passage omitted]

The Serb bombardment of Zepa lasted nearly three and one-half hours. A Bosnian tank positioned near the Ukrainian camp just north of Zepa replied with two rounds on Serb positions, UN spokeswoman Sochacki said.

In Sarajevo, four people were killed and six were wounded Friday evening, eyewitnesses and hospital officials said, when two mortar blasts shook the central districts of the city.

UN Prepares for Zepa's Fall

AU2207173295 Paris AFP in English 1644 GMT 22 Jul 95

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 22 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces kept up their bombardment of the UN safe area of Zepa Saturday [22 July] as peacekeepers tried to prepare to handle a new flood of refugees.

Bosnian Serb artillery and tanks fired on Zepa, a small town in eastern Bosnia, throughout much of Saturday, UN officials reported.

"The reality is, it is just a matter of time (before Zepa falls). It's too late to be saved," a UN official said. "Our efforts are limited to making this fall a little better than Srebrenica so there's a humane and civil way for people to leave," said a UN spokesperson who asked to remain anonymous.

Even these minimal efforts however were thwarted by Bosnian Serb intransigence. Attempts on Saturday to get a UN delegation to travel to the enclave came to nothing. The delegation was turned back on Friday. "Because of the situation we will not get Bosnian Serb consent," a UN spokeswoman said.

Local Bosnian defenders have threatened to attack Ukrainian peacekeepers in the town if a UN delegation from Sarajevo does not arrive. There were no reports that this had happened.

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Officials predicted that it was just a matter of time before the Bosnian Serbs run out of patience. "They can enter the town time they want and there's only so long the BiH (Bosnian Government Army) can hold out. They can make life pretty uncomfortable and they are keeping the pressure up," one official said.

Bosnian Serb Army Commander General Ratko Mladic has demanded the town surrender or face further attacks after negotiations to evacuate women and children in exchange for being allowed to take draft-age men prisoner broke down Friday.

Observers speculated that the forces in the town are trying to buy time so people can escape across mountainous terrain to the west.

UN officials mentioned reports emerging of Bosnian Army troops giving covering fire to soldiers from Srebrenica arriving in northeastern Bosnia country after trekking across Serb-held territory.

The shelling of Zepa comes a day after the London conference of 16 nations involved in the international efforts in Bosnia called after Serb forces overran the safe area of Srebrenica on July 11.

A conference statement condemned the Serb attacks on Zepa and Srebrenica and said the Serbs faced a "substantial and decisive response" if they attack Gorazde, the third UN safe area in eastern Bosnia.

UN officials in Bosnia gave a cautious welcome Saturday to the conference warning but admitted they were unclear on how this would translate into action. "It is important for us that the international community expressed its desire to deter attacks against UN safe areas," said Alexander Ivanko, a UN spokesman.

Ivanko said peacekeepers in Bosnia would get more guidance once their commander, Lieutenant-General Rupert Smith who attended the meeting in London, returned to Sarajevo Sunday.

The United Nations confirmed on Saturday that Serb forces from neighbouring Croatia and their rebel Moslem allies had gained some 130 square kilometers (50 square miles) of territory in an offensive against the Bihac enclave, part of which is a UN safe area.

Frontlines to the west of Bihac, in northwest Bosnia, remained active but at much lower levels than in recent days, said Coward. However, Croatia has moved 2,000 troops nearer the front lines. Zagreb has said further attacks on Bihac threaten its strategic interests.

In Sarajevo aid convoys arrived in the Bosnian capital for the second day running after a break of more than a month. Several loud explosions were heard in the centre of the city before midday but there were no reports of casualties.

Izetbegovic Vows To Defend Zepa

LD2207193695 Paris LCI Television in French 1500 GMT 22 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bosnian Government has condemned the half measures taken in London. The prime minister considers they give the green light to Serb attacks. Here is the reaction of President Izetbegovic:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording; in English with superimposed French translation] I did not expect much from this meeting, or, yes, I did expect something, but the result (?achieved) is more than zero. I am afraid that they will sacrifice Zepa, but we will not. We will defend it to the very end.

The arrival of German planes is a good thing, but I do not know what will happen now. The RRF [Rapid Reaction Force] is there on the ground, to be sure, but at this moment, no one knows what the role, the task, of the RRF really will be. [end recording]

Muslims, Serbs Renew Talks

LD2307183795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Serb aggressor side are holding negotiations at Sarajevo airport on the evacuation of the wounded and sick from the safe area of Zepa, B-H PRESS has learned from the office of Hasan Muratovic, the head of the State Committee for Cooperation with the United Nations. Our delegation at the talks is led by Amela Matovic, the head of the Committee for the Exchange of Prisoners of War.

This is the second round of negotiations after representatives of Karadzic's Serbs demanded the surrender of Zepa in return for permission for the wounded and sick to be evacuated from Zepa. Our side had previously rejected this proposal.

Serbia Reportedly Using Nerve Gas

AU2407115195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The forces of the Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor have intensified their artillery and infantry attacks on Zepa, in the belief that the fact that Zepa is not explicitly mentioned in any of the statements by the world leaders as a zone that has to be defended with all means available, actually gives the

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green light for the continuation of the offensive on Zepa. Karadzic's terrorists have in fact stepped up the attacks.

Apart from attacking the defense lines and residential areas with the heaviest caliber artillery, the aggressor has also resorted to the use of banned chemical agents, that is, nerve gas. The use of this banned chemical agent has already had consequences on the Zepa defenders and civilian population.

Regardless of the losses that they have suffered in their attacks so far, the enemy forces are not giving up. They have been bringing in reinforcements from Serbia, among which are biological-chemical warfare units.

The aggressor has been attacking in the directions of [words indistinct], (?Laza)-(?Bregova Ravan), (?Boscanica)-(?Jelic Lokva), and [words indistinct]. The fighters of our army are putting up fierce and effective resistance against the far superior numbers of the aggressor's forces, reads a statement by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center.

Serbs Launch 'Three-Pronged Offensive' on Bihac

AU2307141095 Paris AFP in English 1331 GMT 23 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, July 23 (AFP)—Serb forces launched a major three-pronged offensive on the government-held Bihac enclave in northwestern Bosnia Sunday [23 July] putting the beleaguered Bosnian Army defenders under "considerable" pressure, UN officials said. "There seem to be three attacks on the enclave, from the north, west and east. There is a very serious situation in the Bihac enclave. It is under considerable pressure from all fronts," Myriam Sochacki, a UN spokeswoman said.

Bihac is surrounded by Serb forces in neighbouring Croatia and Bosnia. In recent weeks there has been a growing number of attacks on the enclave where Bosnian Government 5th Corps troops defend a population of some 200,000. Sochacki said rebel Serb forces in Croatia and Bosnia both attacked the enclave. Croatian Serb forces took ground in the west of enclave after first launching an attack Thursday. Sunday saw a resurgence of this fight in the same area pushing Moslem refugees before advancing forces, Sochacki said.

Shells also hit the town of Corilici in the middle of the pocket where there is a UN base. "Shell impacts were reported getting closer and closer to the Bangladeshi compound in the town," Sochacki said. The so-called Krajina Serb army in Croatia coordinated their attacks with the forces of local rebel Moslem leader Fikret Abdic. "Intense activity began around midnight Saturday on the northern and western sides of the enclave. Between five and six this morning heavy fire was heard from Pecigrad. This area was very active," Sochacki said. Pecigrad is some 10 kilometers (six miles) south of northern front lines where the 5th Corps faces Abdic forces which are commanded and supplied by the Croatian Serbs.

Bosnian Serb forces also began an attack to the east of the enclave, UN officials said and on a high feature to the southeast of the town of Bihac, a UN safe area. Fikret Abdic, a former member of Bosnia's presidency and local tycoon, broke with the Sarajevo government in 1993 and signed a pact with Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia. Clashes soon followed with the 5th Corps which remained loyal to the government. [passage omitted]

Abdic Forces Take Strategic Hill

LD2407094995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0724 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Petrovac, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—Ferocious inter-Muslim clashes in western Bosnia have continued in the past 24 hours, Velkaton radio reported, quoting western Bosnian military sources.

According to these sources, shattered units of Izetbegovic's 5th Corps tried in several locations, especially on the right wing of the front, to surprise the forces of the People's Defense of Western Bosnia [loyal to Fikret Abdic] by launching counterattacks.

The most ferocious battles were waged near a radio repeater in the Pec hills, but all attacks were successfully halted and repelled.

Units of the People's Defense of Western Bosnia also liberated Banda, the most strategic hill in Western Bosnia, and Rosici, Durici, and Cajici with the minimum losses. Losses on the side of the Izetbegovic's army were significant, but the figures have not been released.

Expelled persons are returning to the liberated areas, and the process of establishing civilian authority is under way in all these places.

Croatia 'Poised' To Aid 5th Corps

AU2407103695 Paris AFP in English 1019 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, July 24 (AFP)—Serb troops Monday [24 July] pressed their offensive on the northwestern Bosnian enclave of Bihac, where they have made significant advances on all fronts, UN officials here said.

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They said some 2,000 people have fled the Serb advance and headed to the Cazin area, located in the center of the so-called UN safe area.

A spokesman said that the Bosnian Army 5th Corps defending the pocket was beginning to run out of ammunition, with the so-called Krajina Serb Army attacking from position it controls in Croatia, to the west of Bihac, Bosnian Serb troops attacking from the south and east, and rebel Moslem troops blocking the north.

Bangladeshi UN peacekeepers stationed in the enclave have been put on maximum red alert, the spokesman said with fighting reported four kilometers (2.4 miles) from their headquarters in Coralici.

A UN official here said that Croatia, which regards Bihac as a strategic point on its border, is poised to back the Bosnian Army and has deployed about 1,000 troops near the Krajina region. [passage omitted]

Dutch Troops in Srebrenica Witnessed Execution

AU2307180995 Paris AFP in English
1726 GMT 23 Jul 95

[Report by Laurence Blairon]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, July 23 (AFP)—Dutch troops from fallen Srebrenica watched Serbs execute a Bosnian soldier and saw the bullet-ridden bodies of nine Bosnian troops believed taken prisoner, a Dutch military officer said Sunday [23 July].

Hans Couzy, commander of the Dutch Army, said that a Dutch soldier reported seeing a Bosnian soldier "being led to the Potocari camp (north of the enclave) and being shot by in the head" by a Serb with a Kalashnikov rifle.

He added that two other peacekeepers said they saw nine Bosnians being led away by Serbs to a house to be "interrogated."

They then heard shots being fired in the house. When peacekeepers went to the house, they found bodies of nine Bosnian troops who had been shot in the back, Couzy said at a press conference from Zagreb broadcast on Dutch television.

The Army commander said that they were believed to be the same men. Photographs had been taken, he said.

But, despite these incidents, he added, "we cannot speak of genocide on the basis of what the Dutch peacekeepers saw in the enclave."

The Army commander said further he had received reports of men, separated from their families, who had been "extensively hit and beaten." But he said that when Serbs realised they were being observed, they stopped.

As of July 20, 8,000 people, most of them draft-age men, were missing from Srebrenica since it fell on July 11. Bosnian Serbs were believed to have rounded them up to prevent them from becoming combatants.

Couzy also said that there had been "no cases of rape" in the convoys monitored by Dutch peacekeepers which transported women and children towards Kladanj, held by the Bosnian Government, after Srebrenica fell.

Lieutenant-Colonel Ton Karremans, who commanded the Dutch battallion in Srebrenica, said the Serb capture of the enclave had been "a fastidiously planned military operation" which took place "correctly."

He said the Serbs at no point tried to destroy completely the Dutch observation posts or the peacekeepers' base at Potocari, "even though they had the means to do so."

He added the lesson he retained from the enclave's capture was that the warring parties in ex-Yugoslavia could not simply be divided into "good guys" and "bad guys." "The blame lies on both sides," he said.

Dutch Defence Minister Joris Voorhoeve said Friday he feared "serious war crimes" had been committed when Bosnian Serbs captured the UN-declared safe area. He added it was feared "hundreds, if not thousands of people had been killed." And he said Dutch soldiers had seen "a great number of bodies and heard many gun shots."

Since Friday evening, the 310 Dutch peacekeepers evacuated from Srebrenica have resided at the military base at Zagreb's Pleso airport.

Srebrenica Survivor Reports Massacres

AU2407070695 Paris AFP in English
2109 GMT 23 Jul 95

[Report by Victoria Stegic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 23 (AFP)—Mohamed, 24, who escaped with two other Bosnians from the Moslem enclave of Srebrenica, recalled in shock the day that the nearby fields became a killing field.

"I owe my life to my cousin," Mohamed, not his real name, told AFP. "I was holding his hand through the first volley of gunfire; he was hit and he pulled me down as he fell before a single bullet struck me."

That was mid-afternoon on July 14. The Bosnian Serbs lined up the victims in the fields near Karakaj in eastern Bosnia, and kept up the shooting until just before midnight, said Mohamed, sketching a crude outline of the events with his calloused hand.

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"Then they left. I waited a little before getting up and running away."

Mohamed had lain in the blood of the dead for more than nine hours.

He pulled himself up, incredulous and crying at the sight of "a sea of corpses," and voice in the darkness asked him if he was hurt. It was 54-year-old Mirza, also not his real name.

Before the two made their escape, Mohamed attempted to bandage some of the wounded with his T-shirt.

"Leave quickly, my brothers," one of the dying men said. "Leave us here. Save yourselves."

He saw a pit nearby. "Undoubtedly for the slain," Mohamed said.

The young man came from the village of Lehovici in the formerly UN protected enclave of Srebrenica, which was captured by the Bosnian Serbs on July 11.

He was one of 12,000 to 15,000 soldiers and civilians who fled en masse the Bosnian Serb advance that day. They were scattered by Serb gunfire.

Mohamed's group was caught in a Serb ambush and surrendered. He and eight other men were separated out and taken to Bratunac.

"I spent the night in a bus because the Vuk Karadzic school in Bratunac was already packed with men," he recalled.

The next day, July 14, seven or eight buses and trucks full of men were taken away. "They told us that they were taking us for an exchange at Kladanj," an area under control of the Bosnian Army where the men believed they would be traded for Bosnian Serb prisoners, Mohamed said.

But they were not allowed to see where they were going but were forced to keep their heads between their knees until they arrived at a gymnasium.

"There were already at least 300 men of all ages in the gym," he said. There were no women, but there were five or six boys under age 13. They waited more than an hour in suffocating heat, forced to stand, and without water.

"One man who became irritated was immediately taken away. Gunshots felled him outside the door," Mohamed said.

About 2 p.m., two small Slovenian-made trucks took away the first group of men, some 15 per trip at five-minute intervals.

Mohamed was in the sixth group, which still believed the Bosnian Serbs were taking them to Moslem-held territory for a prisoner exchange.

"As we left, they gave us a little water and blindfolded us," he said.

The echo of automatic weapons did not reach the gym. A small hill separated the two execution grounds, which were 50 meters (yards) apart, bordering the railway line between Tuzla and Zvornik.

When they reached the grounds, they were lined up in two rows, Mohamed said.

"My cousin, whom I held by the hand, said, 'It's over, they are going to kill us,'" he said. "The volleys rang out. He fell, pulling me down with his fall."

When Mohamed arose from the pile of bodies, it was midnight. His clothes were soaked with blood. Mirza was shirtless and covered with blood and bits of human flesh.

Without knowing which direction was Serbia or their own territory, the two men made for the hills hoping they chose the right direction. At dawn, after walking all night, they collected apples from a burned out Moslem village.

During their flight they came across Fehim, who told them he had escaped a similar massacre on a football field in Nova Kasaba, Mohamed said.

Their path was guided by the voice of the muezzin, the traditional Moslem call to prayer, which was regularly sounded. The callers, knowing that numbers of Srebrenica refugees were seeking passage to government territory, sought to guide them to safety.

Their nightmare ended July 20 in a Bosnian village on the front line, near Baljkovica.

Authorities Suspend Refugee Evacuation After Protests

AU2207163895 Paris AFP in English 1555 GMT 22 Jul 95

[Report by Victoria Stegic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Dubrave-Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 22 (AFP)—Bosnian authorities bowed to refugee protests overnight and suspended a mass evacuation from the Dubrave air base.

Authorities had decided on Friday [21 July] to truck 4,500 of the 6,400 refugees to other processing centres nearer the front lines, causing fear and anger among the refugees of Srebenica, which fell to the Bosnian Serbs on July 11.

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An official from the Bosnian civil defence force notified the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) of the decision to move the refugees barely an hour before the operation was to begin.

"People were very angry about this unexpected decision by the Bosnian authorities. They wanted to know where they were going to be taken and who took this decision," Monique Tuffelli, an official of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) told AFP.

"The operation took place slowly, people hesitated and finally only 400 of them left," she said.

The refugees feared they would go hungry again if they left Tuzla camp, and were anxious about where they would be taken.

A meeting of UN representatives, Bosnian authorities, and the UNHCR, due on Saturday morning, was delayed until later in the day.

The Bosnian Government defended the evacuation on "security grounds," arguing that Dubrave was within range of Serb artillery.

Several shells have recently fallen on the base.

The UNHCR, for its part, acknowledged that the camp is only temporary because of the risk of shelling by Serb forces. "The UNHCR has not chosen the site of the camp and its evacuation must be carried out with a minimum of humanitarian support," Tuffelli said.

Tuzla authorities, who blame Western countries for the fall of Srebenica, have refused to allow the refugees to be lodged anywhere but the UN camp on the Dubrave air base.

Tuzla Mayor Selim Bejlagic defended the decision to evacuate the refugees to towns close to the front lines due to the "overpopulation of zones out from danger."

He also invoked the risk of shelling. If one single shell hits the zone where the refugees are grouped "this will be a catastrophe for those who live in the the tent village and the Bosnian people," he said.

Bejlagic issued an appeal to Western countries for funds to construct permanent buildings for the refugees.

The Dubrave camp opened 10 days ago, and is slowing becoming operational. Water distribution points and toilets have been installed, as well as a centre for psychiatric help and a mosque. UN vehicles transport the refugees inside the camp.

The refugees, while angry with the United Nations, also voiced sharp criticism of Bosnian Alija Izetbegovic for refusing to let them leave for third countries which had offered to take them.

The first refugees arrived on July 12, during the night, after an exhausting trek across Serb-controlled territory. Most of them were being expelled for the fourth time since the start of the war in the former Yugoslavia in 1992.

Srebrenica Refugees To Be Moved

AU2407083495 Paris AFP in English
0818 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 24 (AFP)—The majority of the refugees from the Moslem enclave of Srebrenica who are camped out at an air base here will be evacuated Wednesday [26 July] to refugee centres in northern Bosnia, a UN spokesman said Monday.

Around 4,500 of 6,000 refugees at the Dubrave air base in this government stronghold will be trucked to two towns near the front line, Gradacac and Brcko. The latter is only partly controlled by the Bosnian Government Army and its location next to the "corridor" linking Bosnian Serb-controlled territories to Serbia makes it particularly vulnerable.

Faced with the anger and noncooperation of refugees Friday night, Bosnian authorities in Tuzla had to abandon a plan for mass evacuation.

Earlier that day they decided unexpectedly to shift the refugees without informing them where they were going. They defended their decision to the United Nations and humanitarian organisations running the camp by citing "security reasons."

The airport is occasionally bombarded by Serb artillery from their outposts on the ridges of Mount Vis, less than 10 kilometres (6.2 miles) to the northeast.

Bosnian authorities have nonetheless decided that 1,500 refugees will stay in the airport camp. "As a means of pressure," according to the mayor of Tuzla, Selim Beslagic.

During a meeting Sunday with the United Nations and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Tuzla authorities announced the operation would resume Wednesday. As of Sunday night, the refugees were still unaware. Most of them are on their fourth move since the start of the war in April 1992.

Blaming the United Nations for the July 11 fall of Srebrenica to the Bosnian Serb forces, Tuzla authorities oriented fleeing refugees to the Dubrave air base, held by the Nordic Batallion of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

Around 29,000 refugees of Srebrenica have arrived in the Tuzla region.

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Before the arrival of the refugees, the enclave had around 44,000 residents. Several thousand Srebenica refugees have strayed into Serb-controlled territory searching for a passage to areas controlled by the Bosnian Government Army. A column of 12,000 to 15,000 residents left Srebrenica on July 11 for Tuzla.

Small groups of people continue to trickle into Kladanj, near Tuzla, on a daily basis.

Serb Army: Muslim 'Tricks' Cause UN To Fire

LD2307231095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2240 GMT 23 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—The General Staff of the Serb Republic Army has issued a statement saying that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] was opening fire on Serb positions and suburbs on the Sarajevo front this evening causing a number of civilian casualties.

"The so-called peace forces of the United Nations were again taken in by Muslim tricks and, unprovoked, sided with the Serb enemy," says the statement by the information service of the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army.

The Serb Republic Army says that yesterday, last night, and today Muslim forces, based in parts of Sarajevo under their control, intensified offensive actions against Serb positions and suburbs of Sarajevo.

"In this situation they were opening fire on parts of Mt. Igman and places where UNPROFOR is stationed near Sarajevo yesterday evening and yesterday night," says the statement, which was forwarded to TANJUG.

The General Staff said that the goal of the attacks was "undoubtedly, to implement the well-known war propaganda tricks and to accuse the Serbs for these acts, provoking the UN forces to target Serb positions. There were casualties among UNPROFOR members in these criminal and crude Muslim propaganda tricks."

"Unfortunately, the Muslims were successful yet again in their trickery and the UN forces opened fire on Serb positions and residential areas. They targeted Gornji Kotorac, Kasindol, Lukavica, and Ilidza," the statement says.

According to the information service of the General Staff headquarters of the Serb Republic Army, UNPROFOR fired 98 shells, 64 of them from 120 mm caliber mortars and 34 shells from 105 mm howitzers.

Mladic Reportedly Threatens To Capture Sarajevo

AU2207140795 Paris AFP in English 1033 GMT 22 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 22 (AFP)—Far from being cowed by Western outrage over attacks on UN safe areas, Bosnian Serb commander General Ratko Mladic threatened to capture all government enclaves including Sarajevo, in an interview published here Saturday [22 July].

Mladic said the government side "must understand that there can no longer be any question of a unitary Bosnia ruled from Sarajevo by Alija Izetbegovic," the Bosnian president.

His comments appeared in the bimonthly magazine SVET, taken from an interview granted on July 12, the day after his forces took the government-held enclave of Srebrenica which the United Nations was pledged to defend.

"They (the government forces) must respect the truces, they must stop attacking villages and Serb civilians from their 'protected enclaves,' or they will suffer the same fate as Srebrenica," he said.

"If, after three years of war against the Serbs, the Moslems have not understood that they cannot defeat us militarily, then it is a great tragedy for their people, and their leaders will be responsible for the death of hundreds and hundreds of young men who blindly throw themselves into attacks on our positions and die like flies."

As for the West, he added: "They must understand that they cannot bomb the Serbs with impunity...and that the Serbs must be given a compact territory where they can function normally as a state."

The Serbs "will not pull out of Srebrenica and neither the Security Council nor NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) can make them.... Srebrenica has been Serb land for centuries and it will remain so," said the general.

He also wondered "why the Croatians have not been obliged to withdraw from western Slavonia after their aggression" at the beginning of May against the Serb enclave there in the east of Croatia.

"As for the NATO planes, we are used to them, we are used to being bombed. No bombing can affect us. This is our land and we know every stone of it. The planes and the bombs will be useless here."

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Tripartite Talks Result in Joint Defense Agreement

AU2207201995 Paris AFP in English 2005 GMT 22 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 22 (AFP)—Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Moslem-Croat Federation signed an agreement Saturday [22 July] to improve military cooperation and joint defense, according to a statement released in Split by the Croatian presidency.

"Since our two countries are under attack by the Serbs, the military aspects are very important," said Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbey after a summit of the presidents of Bosnia, Croatia and the Moslem-Croat Federation.

Text of Accord Reported

LD2207212195 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 22 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a report from Split. Today, delegations of the Republic of Croatia, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina met in this town. Our correspondent from Split, Jadran Marinkovic, has the report.

[Marinkovic] The delegation of the Republic of Croatia, headed by President Franjo Tudjman; the delegation of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, headed by President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Alija Izetbegovic and President of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Kresimir Zubak; adopted this evening a declaration on the implementation of the Washington Agreement, on joint defenses against the Serbian aggressor, and on reaching a political solution in line with the international community's efforts.

Having stated that the conquest of the UN protected zones in Bosnia-Herzegovina and attacks on them, as well as the joint military operations carried out by the Bosnian and the Croatian Serbs against the UN protected zone in Bihac, their armed provocations in other areas of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the refusal of any peace plan by the Bosnian and the Croatian Serbs is part of the compact and harmonized strategy of continuing the aggression and attempts to hold on to the occupied areas of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to create a greater Serbia under the political and military leadership of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Montenegro, who are fully responsible.

Stating that the continuation of aggression and forcible attempts to hold on to the occupied areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia and the insufficient results of the peace process has prompted the leaderships of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina to thoroughly and comprehensively review the situation in the region from the point of view of preserving the national survival of the Bosnian and the Croatian peoples and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Confirming their commitment to a rapid implementation of many principles in the declaration, it was agreed tonight, note that there was no news conference following today's talks of the three top-level delegations, all these issues and everything relating to the declaration was read out by the head of the president's press office, Natasa Rajakovic.

[Begin Rajakovic recording] Expansion and consolidation of the defense cooperation is based on the Agreement of Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina signed on 21 July 1992.

In this respect, the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina have issued an appeal to the Republic of Croatia to provide an urgent military and other assistance against the aggression, especially in the Bihac area, which the Republic of Croatia has agreed to.

They have agreed to continue cooperation and to constantly coordinate defense activities between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. They have agreed on:

- Cooperation between the Croatian Army General Staff and the Joint Staff of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croat Defense Council [HVO] with the aim of coordinating defense activities in the field of command, logistics, military industry production, communication systems, information-analytical needs, and other areas.
- Creation of a political-legal expert team charged with analyzing urgently and proposing solutions to the question of how to urgently integrate functions of the bodies of authority of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- Sending an invitation to a high-level meeting of 22 country members of the Friends of the Federation in order to urgently collect donations and help in order to counteract the humanitarian and refugee catastrophe and to consider a lasting strategy for revival and development.
- Holding regular and constant political consultations in order to implement the principles and agreements in this declaration and to prepare legal, political, and other foundations for the setting up of confederal ties with the Republic of Croatia.

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Split, 22 July 1995Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of CroatiaMr. Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-HerzegovinaMr. Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation of Bosnia-HerzegovinaMr. Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina

[end recording]

Bosnian, Croat Ministers Comment

LD2207234495 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2120 GMT 22 Jul 95

[Interview with Foreign Minister Mate Granic and Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic by correspondent Damir Matkovic in Split on 22 July—live or recorded; from the "Image vs. Image" current affairs program]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Matkovic] Here in Split, a declaration was signed tonight on the implementation of the Washington Agreement, joint defenses from the Serbian aggression, and reaching a political solution in line with the international community's efforts. This is the name of this document. It is signed by representatives of the Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

The ministers of foreign affairs of the two countries are our guests tonight: Muhamed Sacirbegovic, the minister for foreign affairs of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Mate Granic, the deputy prime minister and minister for foreign affairs of the Republic of Croatia. Good evening, a rather hot evening, thank you for being so kind to explain some things to us.

I would like to ask you, Mr. Sacirbegovic, about some significant items and conclusions here. What is your assessment of this document?

[Sacirbegovic] I believe we are reaching a new level of cooperation. Not just within the Federation, but between the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia. I believe that this demonstrates a friendship that is progressing both at the diplomatic level and in the sphere of defense from the aggressor.

[Matkovic] We have seen here the chiefs of General Staff. One of the items refers to military assistance. I assume that refers to Bihac. Minister, you have sent the international community a number of letters in recent days in which you caution that Croatia cannot afford the fall of Bihac.

[Granic] This is certainly the most significant meeting in the wake of the Washington Agreement, both in a political and a military sense. We have been drawing attention to the fact that the aggression against Bihac threatens the vital interests of the Republic of Croatia. This agreement is much more than that. This agreement is about overall cooperation between the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Federation in every sphere, particularly, in fact, explicitly in the military sphere. This is what was discussed by the chiefs of General Staff and the other high-ranking military officials.

[Matkovic] An appeal for help, for donations, has been addressed to countries friendly to the Federation. What exactly does this mean?

[Sacirbegovic] We maintain that we need both political and financial help at this very important juncture. You know that we have a new wave of refugees in Bosnia-Herzegovina who have come from the eastern enclaves. For the time being, we believe that it is important for us to take care of their future, likewise, the future of the Federation, which after all has not yet received the financial and economic aid which it should have received from many friends of the Federation. A large number of them promised a great deal when the Federation was launched.

Some have, however, realized that things have not moved in the Federation as fast as we all could have expected. Tonight, however, it was demonstrated that there is a new momentum, that there is a new impetus to this job. We believe that at this moment we should repeat our appeal for such help.

[Granic] We have already discussed this, we said that within the next month, or two months at most, we were going to organize such a top-level meeting. This is what the ministers for foreign affairs were tasked with.

[Sacirbegovic] I would also like to say that it is we who are going to organize this, rather than someone else doing it for us. We are gradually taking our future into our hands. All of us believe that this is not just a need, but a healthy thing as regards cooperation between our two countries.

[Granic] To be more specific, by way of our reply to the Serbian aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, for this is the source of everything, including the military command in Belgrade, this is something we fully agreed on. Hence, this is the strongest reply, this meeting today. We believe that we will find enough friends who will support this meeting and its conclusions.

[Sacirbegovic] We also agreed that we were going to send together a letter to the UN Security Council which will approximately read like this: We are not ready for a repeat of the UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration

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Operation] mandate or the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate unless they act in agreement with our states and our sovereignty and territorial integrity. In the final analysis, we do not need these forces if they act against our sovereignty and territorial integrity. We need help in defending these, or else, these forces can operate within this framework.

[Matkovic] I can see that one part of the declaration refers to legal assistance, expert assistance in consolidating the Federation. This means that foreign mediation is no longer demanded. I remember that at some point in Munich, it was agreed that foreign advisers would take part in this. Now it seems that this will be done here through our joint efforts.

[Granic] We do not want to renounce help from our friends. It will be needed. In any case, one should do as much as possible at the level of agreements. We will have top-level talks and talks of experts. The dates of the first meetings have already been agreed on.

[Sacirbegovic] These are simply new additional means in building the Federation without dumping the old means, if I may say so.

[Matkovic] Ministers, thank you.

Tudjman, Demirel Issue Joint Statement on Bosnia

LD2107214595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 21 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Franjo Tudjman and Croatian President Suleyman Demirel met on Brijuni islands this evening. We have a joint statement:

On 21 July 1995, His Excellency Suleyman Demirel, the president of the Republic of Turkey, arrived on Brijuni islands on a working visit to the Republic of Croatia, at the invitation of His Excellency Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia.

The two presidents, together with the highest-ranking state delegations of the two countries, discussed the latest developments in the political and military situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia and expressed concern over the worsening of the crisis in the region and the continued Serb expansionism. They were shocked by the humanitarian catastrophe and human rights violations caused by this aggression and called on the international community, especially human rights organizations, to respond to the present needs of all refugees and expelled persons.

Above all, they condemned the latest Bosnian Serb offensives against the UN protected zones in Bosnia-Herzegovina and their continuous obstruction of all peace efforts, especially the Contact Group's peace plan. Likewise, they condemned attacks by the Croatian Serbs on the area around Bihac in Bosnia-Herzegovina and their attempts to create tension, as part of a strategy of rejecting the peaceful reintegration of the Croatian occupied territories.

President Tudjman told president Demirel that, if the international community and the United Nations failed to take adequate action within their mandate, Croatia will be forced to take measures to defend its strategic interests in the light of a very difficult situation in the Bihac area.

The two presidents said that the present escalation of military operations by the Serb forces in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina could not only lead to the continuation of the conflict, but could further destabilize the situation in the region. They stressed that the responsibility was borne by the government in Belgrade, which kept refusing to accept the mutual recognition of the states in the region. The Belgrade government continued to provide operational, combat, and technical support, as well as irregular Serb forces both in Croatia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and had its forces in Croatia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The two presidents were shocked by the lack of will on the part of the international community to take the necessary measures to prevent and decelerate the present dangerous developments, especially the ineffectiveness of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in Bosnia-Herzegovina and UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation] in Croatia. They reiterated their conviction that Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, as victims of the aggression, had a right to self-defense.

They also reiterated their conviction that the seriousness of the situation justified the need for immediate and full implementation of the Washington Agreements, vital for preserving national and territorial interests of Bosnian Croats and Bosniaks. They gave their unreserved support to the Federation of Bosniaks and Croats and to the consolidation of confederal ties between the Federation and the Republic of Croatia.

They laid special emphasis on the importance of cooperation between Bosnian Croats and Bosniaks in the field of joint defense at this stage of the crisis.

The two presidents agreed to take coordinated diplomatic efforts at international level with regard to immediate action in order to prevent any dangerous developments and implement the peace process. They called on the Contact Group to take concrete and decisive measures to prevent any further Serb aggression, and appealed to all democratic countries to lend as much sup-

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port as they can to the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia.

President Tudjman expressed gratitude on behalf of the Croatian Government and people for the positive role of the Turkish battalion in restoring confidence between Croats and Bosniaks in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The two presidents expressed their satisfaction about excellent results in the development of bilateral relations between Croatia and Turkey, and discussed various ways of improving this cooperation.

UN Source: Army Preparing for Fresh Offensive

AU2307144395 Paris AFP in English 1408 GMT 23 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 23 (AFP)—The Croatian Army is gearing up to launch a fresh offensive to prevent the fall of Bihac in western Bosnia and recapture several areas of the Serb-proclaimed Krajina Republic, a UN source said Sunday. Speaking on condition of anonymity, the source said the Croatian Army had "prepared plans to launch a offensive starting from several axes, the goal being to break western Krajina up into bits rather than regain complete control."

The western region of the self-proclaimed "Serb Republic of Krajina" circles the Bihac enclave in the form of a crescent. Croatia agreed Saturday to militarily aid Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Moslem-Croat Federation against Serb attacks particularly in Bihac, a United Nations safe area. "The Croatian offensive will be more ambitious this time than in western Slavonia and will last longer," the official said, adding that this meant it would last "less than a week, the time it would take in principle for the UN Security Council to meet and condemn."

In May the Croatian Army recaptured the region of western Slavonia, in the east of the republic, during a 36-hour blitz operation. But special units of the Croatian police stayed behind for more than a month to capture Serbs from hideouts in the Pakrac forests.

Plans to evacuate civilians from large Croatian towns are ready as the Croatians "are well aware that the Serbs will destroy everything in their wake as they retreat," the official added. "Croatia has said and repeated that the fall of Bihac would be unacceptable and that the fall of the Srebrenica enclave has just served to speed things up," the source said.

"We are currently in a phase which is lurching irrevocably towards war," he said, adding that the timing of the Croatian intervention would be linked to events in Bihac. "We think that the Croatians will intervene when the Fifth Corps" of the Bosnian Government Army which defends Bihac "finds itself in a difficult position," he said.

Last November, when the Bihac zone was the target of a major Serb offensive, Zagreb had already threatened to intervene and Croatian Defence Minister Gojko Susak said the United States would be understanding in such an event. The head of the Croatian Army at the time, General Janko Bobetko, said his soldiers could intervene when street fighting erupted in the town of Bihac.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation carried out air strikes against the airport of Udbina, located in Serb-held western Krajina 40 kilometres (25 miles) south of the Bihac enclave. The airport runway, from which aircraft took off for neighbouring Bihac to carry out air raids on the enclave, was rapidly repaired by the Serbs.

"The current balance of force is favourable to the Croatians, it is on the order of one to three and it is certain that the Bosnian Serbs will not rush to the aid of their brothers of Krajina," the official said.

Sanader: No Action This Summer

AU2407080795 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 0500 GMT 24 Jul 95

[Report by Georg von Ehren, including statements by Deputy Foreign Minister Ivo Sanader; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [von Ehren] Since the retaking of the strategically important region around Okucani in western Slavonia, there has been a frosty silence between Knin and Zagreb. For Croatian Deputy Foreign Minister Dr. Ivo Sanader the reconquest was nevertheless a great success.

[Sanader] This action was, of course, something that the Croatian citizens, as well as the international community, expected of the government. It was shown there that Croatia is master in its state and its country. One cannot cling to Martic and other Serb politicians saying: Yes, we can talk about economic aspects, but the political solution remains the same. We are here. This is Krajina.

There is no Krajina. There is the Republic of Croatia. The occupied territories are part of the Croatian state. Accordingly, it always has to be made it clear that not only economic aspects are on the agenda, but also the political solution, that is, the reintegration of the territories. That is the political solution. Croatia has been recognized within its borders by the whole world. Therefore, this must also be accepted by the Serbs. [end recording] [passage omitted]

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[von Ehren] UN observers note with concern that preparations for a new war are in full swing. Many believe that the outbreak of new fighting is only a matter of days away, even though the Croatian Government is reserved. A last reprieve is to be granted to the Serbs. Nothing is planned for the summer. At least that is what the deputy foreign minister says:

[Sanader] Summer is the time for tourism and well deserved holidays. I can tell you that nothing is planned then.

Croats, Bosniaks Urged To Cooperate Better

AU2407101695 Zagreb HRVATSKA RIJEC in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jul 95 p 3

[Commentary by Marko Barisic: "Is the Agreement About a Strategic Turn Possible?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Croatian public has been following the latest war events in Bosnia-Herzegovina with greatest interest. Official media daily report on the advances made by the soldiers of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army on the front lines. However, Croats are more interested in the strategic significance of the offensives by the Muslim army, more than in the news about whether 20 or more square kilometers have been liberated in a certain area. This is of course not only because of the interests of the Sarajevo Government, but also because of Croatian interests.

The Stretching of Bosnian Serb Forces

Interpretations which currently exist are as follows. The Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina has started the offensives on most fronts in order to stretch the forces of the Bosnian Serbs, that is, in order to force the Serb troops, of which they do not have enough, to become intensively engaged. By constant "gnawing" at Serb forces, as Zagreb sees it, the military leadership of the Bosnian Army is trying to accomplish significant advances, through long and exhausting war-making. And their goals are to unblock Sarajevo, to join with the Gorazde enclave, to cut the area of Mt. Ozren, to surround Doboj, and to fortify all positions in the Tuzla region. Those objectives are very important for Croatia, because they actually mean that in the coming period the Bosnian Serbs will not be in a position to transfer any of their forces to the occupied territories of Croatia. And it is not excluded that in the coming few months the Croatian Army will perform another military action with the intention of "gnawing" at the so-called Krajina.

Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia Have Been Given Up

That is why the announced meeting of Tudjman and Izetbegovic, i.e. of the delegations of the governments of the Republic of Croatia, Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, raises great hopes. The need for that meeting has arisen from emergency, as Zagreb sees it. Both sides have lately realized that they can expect no help from the international forces, apart from help in the humanitarian domain. Similarly, it is clear that on the political level, the international powers have nearly given up on Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. If both sides fail to achieve military success in the coming period, what could happen is that the results of the Serb aggression would be recognized, which would mean that the very survival of Muslims and Croats on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina would be endangered. Therefore, it is believed that Tudjman and Izetbegovic will have to reach concrete military agreements in Zagreb, with the purpose of carrying out a coordinated wide-ranging military action which would bite off some pieces of the territory which is currently under the occupation of Croatian and Bosnian Serbs.

What Is Important for Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina

What is important for Croatia is its survival, but also a normal development, the gas pipeline (which is under occupation in Banija) and the railway (the so-called Lika railway which goes through Knin, and towards Karlovac). By the liberation of those areas, Dalmatia would finally come out of its partial isolation, the ports in Split, Sibenik, and Zadar would start working normally again, and tourism would bring in some money next year, because the front lines would be moved deep into the background. If these two strategic advances were accomplished, Serbs could no longer fire at Dalmatian towns, so that Dalmatia, like Slavonija [Slavonia] after the liberation of Okucani, would be able to again start a nearly normal life. Zagreb would, of course, no longer be endangered, so that Croatia, after the establishment of those communications necessary for the survival of the state, could count on a relatively fast economic recovery.

Just as the three important communications (the highway through western Slavonjia, the gas pipeline leading through Banija, and the railway through Lika and Knin) are of national interest for Croatia, the unblocking of Sarajevo, the connection with Gorazde, and the liberation of Ozren are for Muslims. Thus, the Sarajevo Government would get a relatively compact state territory and the resources of Sarajevo would be set free. More-

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over, that would finally mean an end to the suffering of the citizens of Sarajevo, who, as reported by Croatian media, are now once more at the limits of their endurance. Inhuman living conditions, with no water, electricity, or food, with the constant threat of death, and the lack of forces for a fast unblocking of the city, gives reason to the Bosnian Serbs to hold Sarajevo as their hostage, which gives them the feeling that they are very near the successful end of their aggression. It seems to have become clear both to Sarajevo and to Zagreb that the agreement, at least on the level of military action, is necessary if strategic advances are to be attained on both sides. Through individual actions, both the Croatian and the Muslim side only prolong their difficult position, which is reflected on the international level. Namely, the world loves the strong, and the victims are offered a plan to be initiated, through the accomplishment of which the preconditions for their survival would be created.

How To Arrange Relations

As it seems, in Zagreb there will be no talk about distant issues concerning the internal arrangement of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and of Croat-Muslim relations in general. There is no need to talk about that before enough territory is liberated, territory on which the federal state could be established. The previous talks about that subject have shown that that means energy unnecessarily wasted on minor problems, or some new problems are invented. The Serbs have to be militarily defeated, at least partially, and only after that can Croats and Muslims, with reason, discuss, for years if needed, on how to arrange the relations between themselves.

Just as there are different options among the Croats, from those saying that the preservation of the unified Bosnia-Herzegovina is necessary, to those insisting on the federal solution, to those which suggest the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the same way, there are groups among the Muslims who advocate the unified Bosnia-Herzegovina but also those who demand the creation of a national Muslim state in a particular part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, political analysts from Zagreb believe that that should be discussed only after both sides have created territorial and infrastructural preconditions for survival and for a normal development of their states.

Military analysts say that this is not impossible to achieve, under the condition the action is coordinated. They believe that the Serbs (both Croatian and Bosnian) still have respectable military forces, but that they cannot cover such a long frontier with their troops. Through those military advances, Croats and Muslims would bring the entire Serbian scheme into a defensive military and political position, which would immediately reflect on the international level. Of course, the international community (its bigger part) would love most to keep the present status quo, and to freeze all military action. They would gladly declare Serbs the winners and go on distributing humanitarian aid to Muslims and Croats, in order to appease their own conscience. Therefore, under the excuse of good intentions, they constantly warn both sides that they have neither the forces nor the equipment to inflict a defeat on the Serbs. That is what they said to the Croats months before the action in western Slavonija. It proved to be unfounded.

Sometimes, particularly in politics, one has to be courageous and show certain deciciveness, even when that implies a great risk. If a fair part of Croatia and a smaller part of Bosnia-Herzegovina managed to defend themselves from the Serbian aggression in a moment when none of the states had an organized army or any significant arms, then there is no doubt that today, under different circumstances, certain results could be achieved. The most important thing would be psychological stability. Namely, if the action is not successful at the very start, that only means that one should be persistent and continue with the action, by no means give it up. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has shown those characteristics in its latest offensive, and such a standpoint is a promising one. When the Croatian Army joins it soon in the liberating actions (either on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina or of Croatia), there is no doubt that Serb interests will be seriously shaken and that their bigger or smaller defeats, which have been going on for over two years, will continue (Vlasic, Majevica, Igman, Sarajevo, Okucani, Medok, Maslenica....).

Krajina Army Protests Croatian Army Attacks

LD2207190995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1748 GMT 22 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 22 Jul (TANJUG)—Over the past 24 hours the Croatian Army has been launching heavy attacks on Serb defense positions and populated areas in Baranja, in the direction of Darda, Bilje, and Meca in the zone of Carska Livada, Siroko Polje, and Topolik, the Information Service of the General Staff of the Army of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] reports.

Its statement, published by ISKRA, stresses that Croatian forces have also attempted to launch an infantry attack under artillery cover along the Tvrdjavica-Darda line and Tvrdjavica-Bilje line. They were unsuccessful as RSK units inflicted heavy losses on the enemy in manpower and equipment.

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A great deal of material damage was inflicted on civilian facilities. There were also wounded civilians, including children.

The SVK General Staff stresses that the Croatian side is fooling the public by covering up the true proportions of the Croatian Army's operation in Baranja, while reporting about the SVK's alleged onslaughts on the territory of the Republic of Croatia and populated areas on the right bank of the Drava River.

A protest note has been sent to the UN peace force regarding the Croatian Army's frequent forays into the separation zone.

According to ISKRA, Colonel General Mile Mrksic, commander of the Krajina Army, has told General Bernard Janvier, commander of the UN peace force, that tolerating Croatian attacks "can bring about serious consequences and escalate the conflict."

In his protest General Mrksic stresses "that the Serb side does not want conflicts. Nor are they in the international community's interest."

Reports Additional Attacks

LD2307212195 Belgrade FONET in Serbo-Croatian 1955 GMT 23 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Knin, 23 Jul (FONET)—The Croatian Army staged provocations, while the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army launched fresh attacks last night and this morning in Banija, FONET's correspondent Mirko Vukcevic reports.

Croatian troops were amassing in the Zadar area yesterday from the direction of Rijeka, and in the Borilovac area in Kordun, the Information Service of the Main Headquarters of the Serb Krajina Army reported today.

The Croatian Air Force has violated the Krajina air space on a number of occasions along the Benkovac-Obrovac front and near Karlovac.

According to the same source, units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 5th Corps are attacking the territory of Krajina "to provoke major clashes with the aim of implementing the Sarajevo Muslim government's policy of war." [passage omitted]

RSK's Mikelic Convenes Government Sessions

LD2307205195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1703 GMT 23 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Knin, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—Borislav Mikelic, prime minister of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], has convened two government sessions to be held in Beli Manastir and Knin next week, Mikelic told TANJUG today.

Mikelic's government received a vote of no-confidence at a session of the RSK parliament in Borovo Selo two months ago, but it will remain in office until a new government of Milan Babic, the current Krajina prime minister designate, is appointed.

The agenda for the session to be held in Beli Manastir on 25 July, includes examining the position of western Slavonia refugees and this year's harvest.

The second session, which will be held in Knin on 28 July, will focus on the analysis of the most topical issues of the Republic of Serb Krajina. [passage omitted]

In a statement for ISKRA today, Drogo Kovacevic, the RSK minister of information and the chairman of the Club of Deputies of the Serb Democratic Party of Krajina [SDSK] in the Krajina parliament, said that those government ministers who are SDSK members will not attend the government session in Beli Manastir.

The government has 18 ministers, seven are from the SDSK.

Martic Orders Session

AU2407151295 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 21 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] President Milan Martic made a decision ordering the former government to be permanently in session in Knin, starting from Monday, 24 July until a new government is elected, President Martic's Information Service stated. It is explained that this decision was made on the basis of the president's constitutional authority and was prompted by discontinued work of the government and by blockade in the functioning of the executive branch in the Republic of Serb Krajina.

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Crvenkovski Announces Project To Fight Corruption

AU2107143395 Skopje MIC in English 21 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Government of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], at the session that took place day before yesterday, has brought decision for firing of the director of the Public Revenues Administration, Kiro Sonevski, the director of the Head office for legal-estate relations, Vencislav Efremov, the deputy secretary for economic relations in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dimitar Belchev, the deputy secretary for city planning in the Ministry for city planning, constructions and prevention of the living environment, Dragan Pacinov, the head state market inspector, Angel Nikolov, and the head state labor inspector, Vera Markova—reports VECER.

This decision was revealed at yesterday's press conference by the Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski, who announced the Government project for fighting the crime, the "prey" economy, and the corruption. This project, as it was stated by the Prime-minister, has the highest priority. The decision to fire these higher-up officials is taken on the basis of analysis, with which it was realized that the administrations which they managed "are not functioning on that level that would be adequate to the matters and problems which we face."

As a response to the journalists' question whether the suspicion of the involvement of the state officials will be supported by criminal charges, Prime Minister Crvenkovski said: "In any situation and any case when it shows up that there are elements of illegal working, it is an obligation of the institutions to make charges. With yesterday's appearance the Prime-minister interrupted the several-days' speculations and assumptions of the names of the Government officials which will be on the 'black list.'"

Stating that the changes are a part of the Government project for fighting the crime and the corruption, Crvenkovski implicitly confirmed that under the formula "unsatisfying results in the working, actually, there are conceived suspicions for the involvement of some higher-up officials in corruption deals and crime." Yesterday, the prime minister answered the dilemma which was imposed, too, regarding these changes: Whether they don't confirm the leads for involvement of some higher-up officials in crime, publicly stated a year ago (because of them a Government official of higher rank was replaced than)? And how come so late the Government starts the purging action?

"We consider that it is about time to approach this problem in a much more complex way and in a way that promises long-term results," said Crvenkovski, clearly suggesting that the previous treatment of the crime and corruption problems as a "on-going obligation" is not satisfying. The "complex approach," as it was announced by the prime minister, means adopting of a global Government program for prevention of the crime in all forms and of several sub-programs: For fighting the corruption in the administration and public institutions, for fighting the illegal drugs trade, for prevention from the organized crime and for preventing the money wash. All the laws and legal acts will be checked in order for the "black spots" to be identified, i.e those solutions which create an atmosphere themselves, and sometimes even encourage to brake the law. All the solutions which give the officials in the Government administration indirect rights will be checked too and there will be a mechanism of objectiveness and transparency in the decision making created.

Under the magnifying glass will be the organizational attitude and the functioning of the administrations too, whose direct or indirect obligation is to provide legitimacy in the working. The Government, as the prime minister said, will not wait until the programs are ready, so the fight starts after that.

Crvenkovski, yesterday, indirectly denied the speculations of the apparent discord in the Government, because in the "black lists" there is only Liberal Party's personnel.

"All of the members of the Government declared their readiness to participate themselves in the realization of this project and to consistent realization without exemption," stated Crvenkovski.

Resistances and pressures, are still expected. The prime minister pointed out to some of them: Mass protests in front of the Parliament, in which they demand that one of the existing laws (for preventing the "gray" economy) be not respected, and the possible appearance of the lobbies which will pressure the Government to stop the realization of the initiative.

Crvenkovski asked for a support from the media too, for the realization of this Government project. After the revealing of the project and the starting Government moves, it is left to wait for the eventual reactions by the headquarters of the coalition partners. Namely, the unofficial Government sources claim that the Monday session passed in a rough atmosphere—apparently the liberals demanded an adequate distribution of the "victims," but at the end they have resigned.

One more dilemma is left to hang on: The "journalists'" list of people and positions to "shoot down" was bigger than the one revealed by the prime minister.

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Thus, the rumors anticipate replacings in the Skopje's customs office, in the Head office for goods supplies, in the Employment Agency, in the Ministry of Culture...

Instead of names, yesterday we only got an unofficial announcement that the Government action will have a second round too.

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Mazowiecki: Bosnian Serbs Violating Human Rights

LD2407114795 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1100 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the UN Human Rights Commission's special envoy to the former Yugoslavia, has said that the Bosnian Serbs violated human rights on a grand scale during their seizure of the Muslim enclave in Srebrenica. Tadeusz Mazowiecki is in the UN safe area of Tuzla. A dozen or so thousand inhabitants of Srebrenica have taken refuge there from the Serbs. Mazowiecki demanded full access for International Red Cross representatives to the people detained by the Bosnian Serbs.

The Yugoslav Government has recently criticized Mazowiecki, accusing him of a lack of objectivity, and rejects the possibility of cooperating with him.

Reportage on Privatization Law

Sejm Overrides Presidential Veto

LD2107142895 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1339 GMT 21 Jul 95

[Live relay of Polish Sejm session chaired by Speaker Jozef Zych in Warsaw; broadcast in progress]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Zych] We return to consideration of the first point on the agenda, which is the report of the extraordinary commission on the resolution of the president of the Polish Republic for repeated consideration of the law on the commercialization and privatization of state enterprises. I remind you that the Sejm has heard the report of the commission, as presented by Deputy Maciej Manicki, and has also held a debate.

We move to the vote.

In accordance with Article 18, Paragraph 3 of the constitutional law of 17 October 1992, after the refusal of the president to sign a law, the Sejm again adopts the law by a two-thirds majority vote. In accordance with Article 53, Paragraph 5 of the Sejm regulations, if the Sejm does not again adopt the law in the same form as it has hitherto, the legislative procedure is closed. The commission applies for the repeated adoption of the law. [passage omitted]

Which of the deputies is for the repeated adoption of the law on the commercialization and privatization of state enterprises? Raise your hands and press the switch. Thank you. Who is against? Thank you. Who has abstained from the vote? Thank you. [passage omitted]

I state that 435 deputies voted. [passage omitted] The two-thirds majority is 290 votes. There are 293 votes for and 142 votes against; no one abstained. I state that the Sejm has again adopted the law on the commercialization and privatization of state enterprises by the required two-thirds majority vote.

Oleksy Praises Sejm Vote

LD2107164495 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1600 GMT 21 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Sejm has rejected the president's veto of the law on the commercialization and privatization of state enterprises. [passage omitted] Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy told journalists that the government was pleased with the result of the vote.

[Begin Oleksy recording] The government is pleased that the law has again been passed. However, there is no triumphalism here or a sense of political victory because that is not the point. I stressed many times that this was a very substantial matter and that a very calm approach to all of the discussions and options that appeared was needed; and I said that this law, from the moment it came into force, would certainly be reviewed from the viewpoint of the aptness of each of the solutions, and more than one comment from opposition criticism would certainly be taken into serious account when amending the law. [end recording]

Jozef Oleksy expressed surprise that Solidarity had already announced a general strike.

[Begin Oleksy recording] That is the most astounding thing of all—that Solidarity has already announced a general strike. Why on earth should Polish workers strike against a law that benefits them so much? That is the question Solidarity must answer. [end recording]

Walesa, Solidarity Oppose Law

WS2407121895 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 24 Jul 95 p 3

[Article by Artur Morka and Wojciech Zaluska: "Lech Walesa and Solidarity Contest the Commercialization Law; the Battle for Ownership"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The president will most probably appeal to the Constitutional Tribunal regarding the law on the privatization and commercialization of state companies. Solidarity has found a different method. Once people return from their summer holidays, the trade union will stage a large-scale strike.*

Lech Walesa may ask the Constitutional Tribunal to investigate whether Article 1, Paragraph 3 of the commercialization law does not violate the Constitution. The article states that the Sejm decides on the privatization

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of strategic branches of industry. The president's legal aide, Tomasz Kwiatkowski, claims this upsets the triangular power relationship.

The Time for Expropriation Shall Come

Some Solidarity activists, among them head of the Mazowsze Region Maciej Jankowski, do not exclude holding a general strike. To make it more effective, they suggest raising several union postulates simultaneously. "Commercialization," says Jankowski, "is not the only problem. The government has failed to met its promise to raise real wages in the public sector by 6 percent. It is also not doing anything to solve the problems of the arms industry and Silesia."

Solidarity leaders do not hide the fact that the best method of deterring the coalition is breaking it up and speeding up parliamentary elections. They first want to beat Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], in the presidential election. The protests they are planning to stage will concur with the election campaign. If the right succeeds in fielding a joint candidate, the union will collect signatures in his support and back him.

"Everything should be done to prevent a monopoly of the SLD," says Jankowski. He warns Kwasniewski: "After the last election, the SLD has been implementing the principle of 'winner take all.' If Kwasniewski does not back out of it, he will pay a high price. There will be no more 'thick lines' [cutting off the communist past] after the next election. After a period of taking over national assets, the time for expropriation shall come."

Solidarity Asks What the Workers Will Say

For the time being, Solidarity is concentrating on the referendum. It is sending questions to companies nationwide:

"Are you for reinstituting central administration of the economy?"

The union fears that mass commercialization may result in the coalitionist voivodes—and thus the government—deciding the fates of companies.

"Are you satisfied with the provision on granting free shares, which does not specify the conditions of selling them?"

The law limits employee rights to sell shares. They cannot be sold until two years after the date of acquisition, and, in the case of board members, after three years. The old law provided shares could be sold immediately upon acquisition.

"Do you want to decide about every change in the legal status of the company that employs you through your self-government?"

The previous privatization law provided that workers councils could move for the privatization of companies. The new law says that the founding body only has to notify the council of decisions on ownership transformations.

"Are you for authorizing democratically elected trade union activists to represent employees in supervisory councils of State Treasury-owned companies?"

Article 13, Paragraph 4 of the new law excludes elected trade union members (chairman, deputy chairman, etc.) from membership in supervisory boards of commercialized companies. The restriction is valid for as long as the state continues to hold 100 percent of the company's shares.

"Are you for appointing company directors as presidents of newly established State Treasury companies without a contest?"

The new law states that the director of a commercialized company automatically becomes the head of the supervisory board.

The final question of the referendum is: "Are (...) you prepared to go on strike to protest this law?"

Polish-Jewish Relations Council May Dissolve

WS2407112595 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 22-23 Jul 95 p 3

[Report by "DAWAR": "The Council for Polish-Jewish Relations Is Losing Members; Belated Session"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The presidential Council for Polish-Jewish Relations is to hold its first session in months. It may well be the last, inasmuch as Council members are leaving one by one. After the controversy pertaining to the 50th anniversary of liberating Auschwitz, Professor Stanislaw Krajewski, Jewish cochairman of the Polish Christian-Jewish Council, left. Professor Krystyna Kersten, Professor Jerzy Tomaszewski, and Marian Turski most recently announced that they also want to leave. After the scandal of Father Jankowski's anti-Semitic sermon broke out, they demanded that a session of the Council be held immediately, but chairman Professor Andrzej Zakrzewski, of the President's Chancellery, has only now scheduled it.

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Army GS Sets Up Team To Investige Arms Theft

LD2107145495 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1400 GMT 21 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The General Staff [GS] of the Polish Army has set up a special team to investigate the robbery and theft of arms and ammunition from the Air Force unit at the Bemowo District in Warsaw. The team is led by General (Leszek Chyla). The investigation so far has failed to confirm that the perpetrators were citizens of CIS, as was earlier suggested by statements made by the unit's duty officer and the guards. The first official statement in this case is expected at the beginning of the coming week.

Solidarity Leader Urges Right To Field Candidate

WS2107121795 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by "P.W.R." and "B.C.": "Head of Largest Trade Union Chapter Issues Ultimatum; Solidarity Criticizes and Hurries the Center-Right"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *If the center-right fails to field a presidential candidate by the end of August, Marek Kempski, head of the Silesian-Dabrowa chapter of Solidarity, will appeal to the trade union to avoid involvement in the election campaign. He claims that the center-right leaders "lack political logic and vision" and that their action may lead to the victory of the postcommunist leader.*

Kempski believes he will be backed by the remaining Solidarity chapters. "The unionists are vexed; I am outraged," he said, commenting on the center-right. He spoke of numerous visits of rightist politicians to his region. The meetings led Kempski to the conclusion that "we are dealing with a leadership crisis."

We wrote about the anxieties of Solidarity leaders in yesterday's RZECZPOSPOLITA. In a statement issued yesterday, Kempski pointed out that all hitherto attempts at fielding a joint presidential candidate were futile and that "the center-right leaders are directly to blame." Asked by journalists to provide more details, he said: "St. Catherine's Covenant is responsible." He claims that "personal ambitions and conflicts" have dominated the top priority of preventing a comeback of communism to the country.

If the center-right fails to field a candidate by the end of August, Kempski will appeal to the whole union to avoid involvement in the election campaign of any candidate.

Marek Kempski heads the largest chapter of the union. Many see him to be the second-most-important figure after [Chairman] Krzaklewski.

"Marek Kempski has a right to his own opinions. I hardly find it surprising that people are losing their patience. We thought that the center-right politicians learned a lesson after 19 September 1993 [previous election], but it seems we were mistaken," Piotr Zak, spokesman of the Solidarity National Council, told RZECZPOSPOLITA when asked to comment on Kempski's statement. We were unable to get hold of Marian Krzaklewski because the Solidarity head is on holiday.

New Conservative-Liberal Movement Forms

WS2107132695 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Jul 95 p 2

[Report by "K.Gr.": "Olechowski and Bielecki Want To Establish New Grouping; The Committee of 100 Is To Become a Political Movement"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *[Former Foreign Minister] Andrzej Olechowski and Czeslaw Bielecki are transforming the Committee of 100 into a political movement. The founding assembly of the conservative-liberal movement will be held in October. They will then announce who they are going to support in the presidential election, if they support anyone.*

Olechowski once again repeated that he will not run in the election if Lech Walesa runs.

Approximately 150 local branches of the Committee of 100 have been formed thus far. The Committee is planning to organize two-day political workshops for founders of the local branches in September, and in October it wants to hold a founding convention of a new political grouping. The group's motto is to be "Contract, movement, pragmatism." This means that contracts will be signed between politicians and the movement, that there will be no full-time employment party structures, and that the founders of the movement consider themselves pragmatists—"without any illusions or stereotypes, from either left of right."

The Committee of 100 will not support anyone in the presidential campaign before the founding convention. "There is a crowd of presidential candidates," said Czeslaw Bielecki at a news conference yesterday. The movement will decide whom to support in the election at the convention. Andrzej Olechowski said that, because the movement is to sign contracts with politicians, it will support a candidate who would be willing to enter such an agreement. The parliamentary elections are a top priority for the movement.

Olechowski and Bielecki, the founders of the Committee of 100, greatly differ in opinion on the presidency of Lech Walesa. Asked about Walesa, Olechowski said

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yesterday: "I think Lech Walesa's first term in office was very successful, and I do not see why he should not run for a second one. I do not see a better candidate than Lech Walesa among the current hopefuls." Czeslaw Bielecki, on the other hand, has a very negative opinion of the presidency of Lech Walesa. In mid-June he appealed to him not to run in the election. He calls Walesa the "master of destruction." "The current president primarily endorsed himself, instead of real solutions. It is not the president's autocracy we should fear but, rather, the insipidity of that autocracy," wrote Bielecki in a text published by RZECZPOSPOLITA. Both politicians declared at the news conference that their opinions on the president are their private opinions and not the official stance of the Committee of 100.

The Committee of 100 was established last April. It got its name because approximately 100 people are its founders.

IMF Mission Assesses Polish Economy Positively

LD2407090595 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0600 GMT 24 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The IMF mission has ended its visit to Poland with a positive assessment of the state of the Polish economy. No documents were signed, however, because, as the Fund's experts argued, some of the phenomena being analyzed—for example, the floating of the zloty—cannot be fully evaluated yet. An operation like this was recommended by the IMF, and, although it has reduced the inflationary pressure caused by the rising foreign-currency reserves, it has not eliminated it.

Marcus (Rodlauer), director of the IMF office in Poland, believes in zero inflation in July. In his opinion, in a situation where inflation has been intensified by rising food prices, the predicted bumper harvest should stabilize prices.

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Parties Toughen Stance Over Treaty With Hungary

LD2107190495 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1600 GMT 21 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After the talks by Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs in Bucharest, the Romanian politicians toughened their stance in connection with the basic treaty.

[Correspondent Tibor Bogdan] Adrian Nastase, chairman of the main government party, the Social Democracy Party of Romania, has said that the Hungarian party has to give up its territorial demands, the demands of collective rights and autonomy on the basis of ethnic criteria and special minority status.

Vadim Tudor, chairman of the government coalition party, the Greater Romania Party, does not even want to hear about the 11th and 12th paragraphs of Recommendation 1201, since Transylvania was Romanian land and it is going to remain so.

The Liberal Party '93 and the National Liberal Party see the problem in that the Romanian Government lacks political will and the Hungarian Government is not willing to give up its demands violating Romanian interests.

At a meeting with Kovacs, the leaders of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] lamented over the increase of nationalism in Romanian political life. At a news conference following this meeting, UDMR Chairman Bela Marko told Duna TV that they had informed the Hungarian foreign minister about the negative effects of the possible introduction of obligatory visas on the Hungarians of Transylvania and asked him also to convey the UDMR's request to the Hungarian broadcasting authorities not to reduce the power of the Hungarian radio broadcasts.

Daily Views Tudor's Attacks on Iliescu

AU2007202295

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian on 12 July on page 8 carries a 700-word article by Radu Tudor, Liviu Avram, Iulian Chifu, and Carmen Mafter entitled "According to ROMPRES, the Officers Who Signed the 'Letter of the 300 Military Cadres' Have Been Interrogated in Botosani," reporting on an alleged investigation of "some of the officers" who signed a letter accusing Iliescu of "high treason." The article mentions that ROMPRES, when reporting on "interrogation" quotes "Army sources," however, it does not mention who is carrying out the investigation, the interrogation, or the identities of the respective officers being interrogated at Botosani garrison. The article notes that EVENIMENTUL ZILEI journalists contacted the Army and found out that no such interrogation is taking place currently, and that ROMPRES based the respective information on the fact that "the Senatorial Commission for Defense, Public Order, and National Security, led by Social Democracy Party of Romania Senator Radu Timpofte is currently in Botosani with a well-organized program." The authors of the article mention that "it is possible that at Botosani barracks some officers complained about conditions of military life, but there is not one who would have admitted signing the 'Letter of the 300 Officers.'"

However, the article mentions that the Senate's Defense Commission "has started on 10 July a 30-day tour of the country aimed at finding out the material and psychological state of the Army." The members of the delegation visited Buzau and Focsani garrisons where Radu Timpofte talked about privatization of the defense industry. Asked about the letter of the 300 officers, Timofte is quoted saying that "Had Vadim Tudor [Greater Romania Party president] been interested in the fate of the Army, he would have been here with us, considering that he is also a member of this commission. He was invited to participate in this tour, but he refused to come." The article mentions that although Timpofte asked that officers should not disclose the subject of the meeting in Botosani to the press, the journalists found out that "officers' social problems" and the issue of "retired officers' pensions" have been discussed.

EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian on 13 July, carries on page 8 a 600-word article by Doru Dragomir, entitled "The Interrogation of the Officers Who Signed the Letter of the 300 Military Cadres Is a Diversion Just Like the News Spread About Alleged Dismissal of SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] Director Virgil Magureanu" continues refuting rumors about any ongoing interrogation of officers, and quotes Colonel Mihai Onisor from Botosani who says that he regrets "the amateurish and superficial way" in which such rumors were disseminated and "the most elementary rules in editing certain received information have been ignored." Col. Mihai is also quoted as mentioning that the Botosani County correspondent of the ROMPRES news agency was penalized for the way he dealt with the news report.

EVENIMNETUL ZILEI on 14 July, continues reporting on the issue of the "letter of 300 officers." In a 900-word article entitled "Systematically Attacked by Corneliu Vadim Tudor, Ion Iliescu Is Smiling Broadly," Victor Bratu and Ciprian Radavoi several of Tudor's attacks and calumnies against President Iliescu are listed, among them calling the president by the nickname "Nelu Cotrocelu, KGB agent," or "the Jew's man" and "the traitor." The article mentions that, while continuing to attack the president, the weekly ROMANIA MARE, of

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which he is the director, called Tudor "the person who really loves his nation" or a person who is "steadfast and determined to devote his life to the act of pulling Romania out of the current state" or "a dynamic, energetic, and enthusiastic man, with great elan, who is driven by the most sincere Romanian feelings" and who "works day and night in order to give millions of Romanians spiritual food through his magazines." The article mentions that, according to presidential spokesman Traian Chebeleu, President Iliescu fails to respond to Tudor's accusations because they are "below his dignity to react to such low level calumnies" but, according to the authors, Tudor's actions and articles are just "aspects of his electoral campaign."

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Federal

Belgrade Rejects Cooperation With UN's Mazowiecki

LD2307212695 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 23 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia does not wish to cooperate with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, special envoy of the UN Human Rights Commission, Belgrade-based independent BETA news agency reported, quoting a statement by Branko Brankovic, an official of the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry.

He accused the UN special envoy of an alleged complete lack of objectivity in his report referring to the observance of human rights in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. According to Brankovic, this refusal of further cooperation refers to Mazowiecki personally, not to the UN Human Rights Commission. Mazowiecki's particular fault is his report on human rights in Kosovo.

Jovanovic Says Germans in Uniform Not Welcome

AU2307171895 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 22 Jul 95 p 8

[Interview with Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Heiko Flottau in Belgrade; date not given: "Germans in Uniform Not Welcome"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Flottau] The world is shocked over what is going on in Bosnia. On behalf of your government, could you say that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is distancing itself from the attacks on the UN safe areas?

[Jovanovic] We are deeply worried about the negative developments in Bosnia. We are of the opinion that the UN safe areas in Bosnia and in the Krajina must be demilitarized. Only the United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR] should be there. That is the best protection for the people there.

[Flottau] Are you trying to insinuate that the attack on Srebrenica was provoked by the Bosnian Muslims?

[Jovanovic] There is such an indication. What I would like to say is that developments in Bosnia, in the Krajina, and in western Slavonia have deteriorated for some months without reactions from the international community. At the beginning was the violation of the cease-fire, first by the Muslim side, then from both sides. There was no adequate response to that.

[Flottau] From whom?

[Jovanovic] From the UN Security Council, the Contact Group, and the responsible UN authorities who should protect this cease-fire. The cease-fire was not the solution but rather a path leading to a solution of the problems. The safe areas should be demilitarized, which never happened. They were used by the Muslims as a platform for military actions against the Bosnian Serbs.

[Flottau] Does this justify Radovan Karadzic's military action?

[Jovanovic] I am not defending this side. I am trying to analyze what led to these negative developments. We deeply regret this development. The safe areas should be respected by all, including the United Nations. Western Slavonia (which was occupied by the Croats in May—editor's note) was a safe area. We now need a comprehensive cease-fire.

[Flottau] Including an end to the bombing of Sarajevo?

[Jovanovic] Of course.

[Flottau] And no attack on Gorazde?

[Jovanovic] Of course. What we need is an immediate, unconditional cease-fire. The peace plan of the Contact Group remains the basis for negotiations.

[Flottau] What instruments do you have to end the war? How big is your influence on the Bosnian Serbs?

[Jovanovic] We have supported the peace plan of the Contact Group, while the Bosnian Serbs did not. This says everything. It shows how far our influence goes. This influence is much smaller than before. The lifting of the sanctions would be the most valuable help the international community could give Yugoslavia.

[Flottau] Yet, the world would like to hear from your government that it openly distances itself from the leader of the Serb Republic in Bosnia, Radovan Karadzic. Can you give such assurance?

[Jovanovic] We have severed political and economic ties with the Bosnian Serbs. That is the best illustration of our differences. Of course, we will never end our relations with the Serbs in Bosnia. The chance of gaining greater influence on the Bosnian Serbs would be almost unlimited if the sanctions were lifted. After all, the main argument of the leadership in Pale is that the sanctions will remain, regardless of what Yugoslavia does.

[Flottau] You clearly said that you ended relations with the leadership in Pale. There are reports according to which officers of the Bosnian Serbs are on Belgrade's payroll and that Yugoslavia provides computer-assisted aid to the missile positions of the Bosnian Serbs.

[Jovanovic] This are so-called information and allegations that are intended to discredit our peace policy. The

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reports of the international monitors on the Drina have all been in our favor.

[Flottau] This does not answer the question whether Serbia or Yugoslavia, for that matter, is paying Bosnian Serb officers.

[Jovanovic] We are not involved in the Bosnian war. All parties to the war are benefiting from the fact that the weapons industry of the old Yugoslavia was located in Bosnia.

[Flottau] So can you deny reports that Bosnian Serb officers are being paid by Yugoslavia and that Yugoslavia is providing computer-assisted aid to the army of the Bosnian Serbs?

[Jovanovic] I am not in the military, so I am not the right person to ask such questions. We have not committed ourselves militarily in Bosnia. Some officers have their families in Yugoslavia. This explains why they receive financial support. Yet, that is marginal.

[Flottau] In a TIME interview, Serb President Slobodan Milosevic made a difference between Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic. Can one deduce a change in support form Karadzic to Mladic from that? Can one conclude that your country is ultimately not displeased with the war gains of the Bosnian Serbs?

[Jovanovic] We are not thinking of abandoning the Contact Group's peace plan. There is no serious alternative. Yet, since the Muslim side has resumed hostilities, there may be some changes on the ground since all sides have occupied new territories.

[Flottau] What role should UNPROFOR play?

[Jovanovic] UNPROFOR should stay in Bosnia. The mandate should not be changed. A change of its peacekeeping role to a role that forces a solution upon one party would be disastrous. It would lead to more and not less war.

[Flottau] Has UNPROFOR departed from this course?

[Jovanovic] UNPROFOR is exposed to constant pressure to side with the Muslims. Yet, UNPROFOR's policy has so far been correct.

[Flottau] Should the Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] defend Gorazde if Radovan Karadzic orders that the city be attacked?

[Jovanovic] The activation of the RRF would only further escalate the hostilities.

[Flottau] Yet, at the moment only Radovan Karadzic is waging a war in Bosnia at such a high level.

[Jovanovic] Karadzic said that he would not attack Gorazde if the Bosnian Serbs around Gorazde were not attacked from within the city. He called on the United Nations to demilitarize Gorazde.

[Flottau] But there are not attacks from Gorazde.

[Jovanovic] As far as I know, no.

[Flottau] So there is no pretext for a new attack.

[Jovanovic] Not at the moment. Yet, the Muslim Government in Sarajevo understands how to create situations that should trigger an international intervention. I have no evidence, but there are reports that the commanders of Srebrenica received orders from Sarajevo to attack the Bosnian Serbs.

[Flottau] Does Radovan Karadzic's campaign benefit those who want to crate a greater Serbia?

[Jovanovic] We are not pursuing any objectives in Bosnia. Our only objective is the end of this war. The plan of the Contact Group concedes the Bosnian Serbs their elementary rights. We do not have a concept for a greater Serbia. Yugoslavia is not pursuing any other interest but to make sure that all three peoples in Bosnia have equal rights. We do not have any territorial objectives. Our support for the Bosnian Serbs is support for their right to self-determination as one of these three peoples.

[Flottau] Is Russia supporting Serbia's national objectives?

[Jovanovic] No. Russia is only more objective than other major powers. We would like other major powers such as France, the United States, or Germany to follow Russia's stance and pursue a more balanced policy and treat all three sides equally. Unfortunately, the United States is supporting the Muslims, while Germany supports the Croats.

[Flottau] When will Yugoslavia recognize Bosnia and Croatia?

[Jovanovic] We have repeatedly said that we will recognize the new independent states once the political problems are solved that result from their secession. One of the problems is the situation of the Serbs in Krajina. Bosnia is another example for unilateral independence declarations and hasty recognition by the international community. As soon as all problems are solved, we will recognize these states. The FRY, however, is not a new country. It is a country of continuity.

[Flottau] What do you expect from Germany?

[Jovanovic] We would like to see your country, which we have always appreciated, make a sincere contribution to solving the problems, being a good example and bring its policy into a new balance.

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[Flottau] Are there any objections to German Tornadoes?

[Jovanovic] Germany is welcome here in whatever clothing, but not in uniform.

President Lilic: Sanctions 'Threat' to Peace

AU2107160995 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 Jul 95

[Report by Dejan Eric—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Eric] Greeting the participants of a conference entitled Balkans—the European Region of Stability and Cooperation, FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] President Zoran Lilic said that any contribution to the development of peace, good-neighborly relations, prosperity, and mutual relations in general deserves recognition. The hope that Europe could maintain the situation of controlled chaos in the Balkans is false, President Lilic emphasized and then continued:

[Lilic] The sanctions against the FRY have become the biggest generator of instability and a threat to the international peace in the Balkans. So far they have inflicted a total damage exceeding $100 billion to the region. Its destabilizing effects are not felt merely in the FRY, but definitely in many ways also in neighboring countries, and clinging to them realistically poses a threat of generating even graver and more dangerous destabilization processes. For that reason I would like to emphasize on this occasion, again, that the FRY is above all a partner and not an adversary to the international community in seeking an all-encompassing, peaceful, and political solution to the Yugoslav crisis. The FRY has undoubtedly proven this by its overall prior work and behavior in the political sphere.

The sanctions against the FRY are making the residents of our country the innocent victims of an absurd and, I would say, wrong policy which is not geared toward peace and justice. We are convinced of the strength of our arguments and believe that FRY must return to Europe and the international community and assume the place that it rightly deserves.

In the long term, the sanctions are definitely not only working against the Balkans, but also against Europe as a whole. They are a foot-drag to a just solution to the Yugoslav crisis and widen the economic, social, and cultural hiatus between the Balkans and Europe, which definitely creates a hotbed for long-term destabilization of this region.

We must jointly strive for peace; we must safeguard peace and turn toward development. Let us depart from the joint interests and goals and (?create) an institutionalized structure as much as this would gradually be necessary for their realization. Even the smallest step in this direction will be big in its, one can freely say, historic significance for the future of the Balkans, the future of all Balkan states and especially its people, for each individual resident of the Balkans. We in the FRY, trust me, will persist in the struggle for peace. For peace, because this is a precondition for development, prosperity, and achievement of our fundamental task: to create a better future for our peoples, in short, because this is a precondition for life.

[Eric] Opening the conference, Ljubisa Ristic, president of the Yugoslav Left, said he was very satisfied that the Left of the Balkans, Europe, and the world was gathered here today. This shows that there are many disasters, much suffering, and clashes in the world which the Left should link up and bring together, ever tying together what is separated and divided. The participants of the meeting were also addressed by academician Mira Markovic, president of the JUL [Yugoslav United Left] directorate, who said that she participated in the work of the conference with great satisfaction in the hope that this was the beginning of an agreement of the Balkan people for a joint life. The Balkans have the gravest history; here were the most wars, the most suffering. It is logical that the Balkans resolve their problems by themselves, Professor Markovic concluded and then emphasized:

[Markovic] Personally, I am convinced that the Balkan peoples must at this moment or from this moment onward fulfill three preconditions to be able to live in peace and hope for progress. These three urgent and simultaneously great preconditions are: First, the Balkan peoples must free themselves of a deep and unfortunate need to be turned toward the past instead of the future. Second, the Balkan people must [words indistinct] mutually link with each other, perhaps, in the hope that this mutual linking will in time be transformed into a sort of a community of the Balkan peoples. Third, the Balkan peoples must free themselves of the myth that they are second-class people in Europe. Afterward comes the Left's big task to turn the Balkan peninsula and its people toward the future, link them up, and inform the world about equality with all other peoples and other nations of the world.

[Eric] In the morning, the participants were also addressed by Vladimir Stambuk, president of the JUL's commission for international relations, who said that JUL supported the stance and the peace efforts of the FRY Government, that the crisis in the Balkans be resolved peacefully. The Balkans is the cradle of Europe. Its name was created and its development started here. Only with the Balkans as its component, can Europe as-

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sert itself as a unique, successful, developed, and beautiful continent. If the European Union is the house of Europe, then the Balkans is its garden.

Lilic, Perisic Address Cadets on Peace Policy

AU2307132195 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Securing and preserving peace is our in strategic, state, political, and national interest, as it is only in peace that one can ensure a happier future, a higher standard of living, and a better life for all citizens, including the Yugoslav Army, said Yugoslav President Zoran Lilic at the celebration in Tekeris marking the conclusion of classes for the 38th class of the National Defense School.

Colonel General Momcilo Perisic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, handed out diplomas to the students of the highest military school. Gen. Perisic said that in the famous battle on Mt. Cer, the Serbian Army won one of the most celebrated victories that was justifiedly published in world textbooks on war strategy.

President Lilic and the high-ranking Yugoslav Army officers were cordially greeted by people at the foot of Mt. Cer and in Tekeris.

Radovan Pantovic reports on the event:

[Begin recording] We are at Mt. Cer now because of our ancestors and our descendants, President Zoran Lilic said, congratulating the end of classes for the students of the 38th class of the National Defense School. President Lilic pointed out that the transformation of the Yugoslav Army is a long process in which we are training and equipping our army primarily as a force with the basic aim of preserving peace, and thereby ensuring the country's development.

[Lilic] On this occasion, I again want to stress that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has no territorial pretensions, [words indistinct] it has been sincerely advocating a peaceful denouement of the crisis on the territory of the earlier Yugoslavia. This has finally been proven and I believe that [words indistinct] international community. This has been demonstrated by an even greater [words indistinct] and acceptance of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] as an inevitable factor of political and diplomatic activity in the Balkans.

I must particularly stress the fact that ensuring and preserving peace is our state, political, and national interest, as it is only in peace and with much work and a large knowledge that one can create a richer and (?happier) future, a higher standard of living for all FRY citizens, and thereby all members of the Yugoslav Army.

[Pantovic] President Lilic assessed the overall situation throughout the former Yugoslavia [words indistinct]:

[Lilic] By lifting the sanctions on the FRY and equally treating the conflicting sides, peace can be achieved very quickly and very successfully, which would be in the interest of not only the conflicting sides (?and) the FRY, but also in the interest of the whole of the international community, as certainly everybody has been losing as a result of the sanctions, [word indistinct] those whom the end of the war does not suit and those who are probably afraid of peace.

At this festive moment, I would like to remind you that the Yugoslav Army is one of the most important factors in ensuring the peaceful and stable development of our country. (?You already have) and will also in the future have to perform this honorable duty before your people in the way befitting officers of your rank.

While congratulating the successful end of schooling to you, I expect you to follow the example of your famous predecessors, our ancestors, by consciously and highly professionally performing the difficult and [word indistinct] military tasks in strengthening country's defense, protecting the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence, and constitutional setup of the FRY.

[Pantovic] Col. Gen. Momcilo Perisic, chief of the General Staff, pointed out that, although its schooling went on under [word indistinct] conditions of sanctions and outside threats, the 38th class of the National Defense School considerably (?enriched) the firm ranks of our defenders. Thanks to the peace policy led by the FRY and the resolution and abilities of the Yugoslav peoples and the Army, many [words indistinct]. Gen. Perisic said that the spiritual strength of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples is unbending in the case of defending freedom, independence, and national territory. End of schooling of yet another generation of highest officers has an even greater significance in preserving national and state [word indistinct].

[Perisic] We are convinced that the effort we are exerting in strengthening defense forces is fully justified. We unreservedly support peace policy and are oriented toward life in peace as it is only in peace that our people's [word indistinct] activity and capability can be fully shown. National unity has a decisive significance here as it is an irreplaceable condition of victory, as well as of preserving freedom, independence, and [word indistinct] territorial integrity of our country. [passage omitted]

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Army Chief Inspects Combat Readiness of 1st Army

LD2107193595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1040 GMT 21 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 21 Jul (TANJUG)—Colonel General Momcilo Perisic, the chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, visited with aides the 1st Army command and several units of the Novi Sad Corps and the Drina Division within the framework of regular and scheduled activities for 20, 21 July, the information service of the Yugoslav Army General Staff said today.

During the tour of the command and units, their state of combat readiness was inspected and it was concluded that their training was at the level that guaranteed that they would carry out specialist [namenski] tasks successfully, the statement says.

Belgrade Urges Bosnian Serbs Not To Attack Gorazde

LD2107191895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1542 GMT 21 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 21 Jul (TANJUG)—At today's session, chaired by Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, the Federal Government voiced concern over an increase in military activity and growing tension on the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Such activities are undoubtedly endangering efforts to consolidate the peace process and to resolve the crisis by political means and through negotiations, a statement issued from the government session says.

The Federal Government appeals specifically to the military leadership of the Serb Republic not to attack the Muslim enclave of Gorazde, because an escalation in military operations, apart from causing the loss of life and civilian suffering, will have a powerful negative effect on the successful outcome of the peace process.

The Federal Government stresses once more that the resolution of the crisis in former Bosnia-Herzegovina does not lie in a military, but only in a political solution.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will continue to invest efforts in a search for a political solution, the statement concludes.

Envoy Protests Mobilization of Serbs in Croatia

LD2207102995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2306 GMT 21 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] New York, 21 Jul (TANJUG)—FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic has sent a protest letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali over the forced mobilization of Serbs in Gorski Kotar into units of the Croatian Army.

In the letter, which was delivered to Ghali on Friday by the deputy head of the Yugoslav mission to the UN, Bratislav Djordjevic, he says that the forced mobilization began in 1991 and is still going on today.

According to him some 6,000 Serbs living in Gorski Kotar are "exposed to enormous pressure and the Croatian authorities are continuing to violate their basic human and national rights."

The forcefully mobilized Serbs are sent to units of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] or of the regular Croatian Army to fight in Bosnia, the letter says.

Jovanovic stresses that Croatia has positioned 20,000 troops around Serb villages in Gorski Kotar with 35 tanks and 20 armoured personnel carriers, and at Dreznica there are the headquarters of the unit of the well-known war criminal Tomislav Mercep.

The aim of the pressure on the Serbs in Gorski Kotar is to make them emigrate, as was the case in western Slavonia, the Yugoslav minister warns.

He appeals to Butrus-Ghali to do everything within his powers "to halt the forced mobilization of Serbs". "Your action will, I am sure, help to preserve peace in Gorski Kotar and will speed up the general peace efforts of the international community," Jovanovic says in his letter to Butrus-Ghali.

Split Declaration: Tudjman Shows 'Growing Appetite'

LD2307145195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1440 GMT 23 Jul 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 23 (TANJUG)—The intention of Croatia and Bosnian Muslims to resolve the conflict in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina by spreading war was set out in a declaration signed Saturday [22 July] evening by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Bosniam Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic.

According to that declaration, Croatia has accepted the formal request of the Bosnian Muslim leader and representative of the Croat-Muslim Federation in Bosnia to provide emergency military and other forms of assistance for defense against aggression, especially in the Bihac area, northwestern Bosnia.

This military assistance, i.e. Croatia's open interference in the war in Bosnia, is based on the agreement

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on friendship and cooperation signed by Croatia and Sarajevo Muslim authorities on July 21, 1992.

The declaration was signed for the sake of form, and its message is more than clear: Croatians and Muslims have opted for spreading war and Tudjman's militant regime has revealed its growing appetite.

Croatia's earlier interfering in the war in Bosnia used to be carried out under the cover of Croat Defense Council (HVO—Bosnian Croat Forces), but Croatia has now been openly sending troops across the border over the past ten days.

UN peacekeepers have recorded the crossing of about 1,600 Croatian troops into Bosnia over the past few days.

At the same time, the zagreb regime is accusing Knin that Krajina Serb units are among the 10,000 troops taking part in the offensive on Bihac, though UN representatives in Zagreb have denied this.

These unfounded accusations and the concentration of Croatian troops along separation lines were only an introduction to the "declaration" which threatens to make the already tremendously difficult situation, not only in Bosnia but also in Zagreb-Knin relations, even worse and give rise to wider war actions.

Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic said Saturday evening he hoped there would be enough friends to the world to provide support to the Split meeting and its conclusions.

Support seems to have already been ensured, as the talks in Split were also attended by the U.S. Ambassador to Croatia Peter Galbraith and German Government representative for Croat-Muslim Federation Christian Schwartz-Schilling.

The message from the Split meeting and the claims that the fighting around Bihac is threatening Croatia's national security are aimed at screening the militant behaviour of the Zagreb regime and its plans for a fresh war adventure.

Serbia

Milosevic's 'Special Mission' Frees Peacekeepers

AU2107192195 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 21 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In a special peace mission by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Mile Puzovic, commander of the Ministry of Internal Affairs' administration, and the representatives of the Serb Republic Army today evacuated 328 Dutch Blue Helmets from Srebrenica to the territory of Serbia.

The members of the Dutch Battalion of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], all 328 of them, left Potocari near Srebrenica at about noon today and safely crossed over the bridge across the Drina River near Ljubovija to the territory of the Republic of Serbia. On the bridge over the Drina River, on the territory of the Serb Republic, General (?Likolaj), commander of UNPROFOR headquarters in Sarajevo, thanked the Serb Republic Army and its commander, Gen. Ratko Mladic for evacuating the 328 members of the Dutch Battalion and their equipment, including combat and other vehicles, in the best possible way.

Mile Puzovic, commander of the Serbian Interior Ministry administration, told reporters that he and his assistants were on a special peace mission of Serbian President Milosevic. After we have safely taken the peacekeepers and all their equipment over, our task is to escort them safely through our territory, respecting their lives, professional honor, and soldiers' dignity. Our goal is to hand them over to their command, the way we have assumed, and this is the task that must be completed, Puzovic said.

SPS Official Condemns UN Sanctions

LD2207205095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2207 GMT 22 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vranje, July 22 (TANJUG)—It is necessary the UN lift sanctions against Yugoslavia and "never again introduce them against anyone," as they represent an act of collective punishment of innocent people, said one of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) top officials Slobodan Jovanovic Saturday [22 July].

Speaking at a rally on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the forming of SPS board in Vranje, southern Serbia, Jovanovic, who is member of the SPS main board and president of the Belgrade SPS board, said sanctions against Yugoslavia were introduced without any guilt on its side.

"With the spreading of the truth about us and our policy, defending of imposition of sanctions and their further continuation comes to an end," Jovanovic said and recalled that Serbia and Yugoslavia had accepted all the peace plans, including the international Contact Group plan for the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and stressed that in this way all the conditions for the lifting of sanctions have been met.

The UN Security Council introduced comprehensive and binding sanctions against Yugoslavia in late May 1992 over its alleged involvement in the civil war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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As Belgrade backed the Contact Group plan, sanctions were suspended in October last year but only in the areas of sport, culture, and ferry and air traffic.

According to Jovanovic, the first and foremost result of the SPS policy, as pursued by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, was to have preserved peace in Serbia, something this party has always urged and continued to do so.

"The war which has been forced on the Serb people in the territory of former Yugoslavia has claimed many lives. And the fact that peace has been preserved in Serbia is neither accidental nor fateful, but an outome of a policy of these authorities, this party and President Slobodan Milosevic," Jovanovic said.

Split Declaration Resembles 'Military Pact'

AU2307185895 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At a time when solutions are being sought to resume dialogue between the warring sides in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and talks between Zagreb and Knin have already been agreed to be held in Geneva at the beginning of August, Croatian President Tudjman and Muslim leader Izetbegovic signed a declaration in Split which, in all aspects, resembles more of a military pact aimed against the Serbs in the Serb Republic and the Serb Krajina. This is also contrary to the efforts exerted by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and President Milosevic, as well as the international community, with a view to solving all disputed issues between the warring sides in a peaceful way, that is, through negotiations. Dragoslav Kosaric, our correspondent for Slovenia and Croatia, reports:

Apart from the top military and state leaderships of the Republic of Croatia and the Muslim-Croatian Federation, U.S. Ambassador to Croatia Peter Galbraight also attended the negotiations and the signing of the declaration. Judging from everything, if this military agreement is nevertheless implemented, as all the ones to date have failed, the solving of the crisis by Croatia actively joining in the conflicts in Bosnia will represent a serious threat to the peace process. This document has also provided a reply to some moves by the Croatian Army General Staff, which, according to the Zagreb UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Command, has for a week already been transferring its troops across the Kamensko border crossing near Livno to the former Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Approximately 1,600 soldiers have crossed over so far.

At the same time, the Croatian Army has been conducting military exercises south of Karlovac for a week. These military formations were joined yesterday by 1,000 more soldiers who were transferred to the sector from western Slavonia. This in fact means that if Croatia's Armed Forces set off toward Bihac in western Bosnia, official Zagreb will be actively joining in the war on the territory of the former Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Based on the fact that Ambassador Galbraith was present at the Split talks and at the declaration signing, one can conclude that the United States has granted a tacit consent to Croatia's more active participation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Also agreed in Split was a cooperation between the General Staffs of the Croatian Army and the joint Muslim-Croatian command in order to achieve, as was said, a coordination of military activity in logistics and military industry.

It is also demanded in the document that the embargo on arms imports be lifted from both the Muslim-Croat Federation and the Republic of Croatia and that the sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia be retained and be made even harshened as, according to the official Split stance, it is also to be blamed for the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The document did not say anything about why Mostar has been divided on a national basis into Muslim and Croatian parts or how long it will last. The formation of the political-legal working group meant to urgently analyze the functions of powers of the republic and federation and propose solutions to integrate those functions, as well as the fact that there will still remain two armies and the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, clearly tell that the federation is still only a theory.

The declaration is undoubtedly just a form of political pressure on the Serbs in the Serb Republic and the Serb Krajina, as well as on the international factors, but it is also a legal basis for a direct military engagement of the Croatian Army on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Montenegro

Council Examines Arms-Industry Potential

LD2107213995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 21 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 21 Jul (TANJUG)—A meeting was held in Podgorica today of the Council for Extra-Economic Activity of the Montenegrin Ministry of Energy and Industry, in which Federal Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic and his assistant Radojica Kadijevic took part.

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According to a statement issued by the republican secretariat for information, the Council examined current issues regarding business in enterprises working for the specific-purpose [arms] industry and in connection with ensuring production at full capacity this year, as well as a number of other issues of importance in this field.

It was agreed that, given the circumstances, significant results were achieved in carrying out the agreed duties for the needs of the Yugoslav Army and certain programs for civilian market adopted.

A package of measures was also adopted at the meeting regarding ways of resolving current problems, stepping up the process of ownership transformation in this sphere, as well as activity linked with producing a strategy for development in the military and industrial field in the period ahead.

Weekly: Fuel for Pale Sent From Bijelo Polje

AU2107155795 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jul 95 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Fuel for Pale"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The fuel tankers used for transporting liquid fuel for the needs of the self-declared Serb Republic have recently been filled near Bijelo Polje, and not near Skadarsko Lake as before. According to MONTENA FAX agency, a number of fuel tankers could have recently been seen parked by a Jugopetrol fuel depot in the settlement of Krusevo, 3 km south of the town. Late in the night, the fuel tankers with the number plates clearly showing the Cyrillic letters of ZV and BL, are filled before leaving toward Prijepolje. It is not clear however whether the tankers are filled at the Jugopetrol depot, or whether this is done by the Army of Yugoslavia, which also has fuel depots with large reserves in that area.

Kosovo

Rugova Favors 'Independent, Neutral' Status

AU2407101995

[FBIS Editorial Report] Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian on 22 July carries on page three a 1,000-word report by Behar Zogjani on a news conference held by Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, leader of the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, in Pristina on 21 July, entitled "An Independent, Neutral, and Entire Kosovo Is in the National Interests of Albanians and Serbs."

According to the report, Rugova opens the news conference by "welcoming the constructive stance of the United States and President Clinton to prevent the conflict spreading southward and their measured attitude to the crisis in the region."

Speaking about the "continued Serbian repression in Kosovo," Rugova is cited as saying, "A total of 230 years' imprisonment was handed down to 72 former policemen of Kosovo. Eleven of them have escaped and some are still being held on remand, while sentences against a group of policemen currently on trial in Prizren are still expected. We demand the release of all political prisoners, including Ukshin Hoti."

The report continues: "Most questions put to Dr. Rugova by journalists had to do with the visit to Kosovo by Serbian President Milosevic and what some called the slightly more moderate language that he used in his speech. The president of the Republic of Kosovo said that he was not in the habit of commenting on speeches of this kind or on moments such as this one chosen by Milosevic. However, from what we have heard, he said little new and more might have been forthcoming in this area. In reply to a Serbian journalist from Belgrade's Radio B, Dr. Rugova said that we and the international community are working toward dialogue, while there is no official policy on the Serbian side.

"Asked how near or far a dialogue might be, in that the Serbian president did not mention this issue at all in his speech, the Kosovo president said that a lot is being said about this matter internationally, but it needs more work. Asked by a correspondent of the VOA's Serbian-language service about Milosevic's most recent speech in Mitrovice and the supposed return of Albanians to their jobs at Trepca, Dr. Rugova said that it was not true that the Albanians had abandoned their jobs. Trepca used to have about 22,000 workers, of whom a small number remained after the occupation. According to our information, there may be a small number of Albanians still working, but it is not true that they are returning to work. We never told anybody to give up their jobs when 150,000 employees including university professors were thrown out of work. On the contrary, thanks to our organization and solidarity, we succeeded in averting starvation. Dr. Rugova then said that we are not terrorizing anybody. Our movement is a peaceful movement and our policy of peace, resistance, and sacrifice is respected today. The people of Kosovo have never been so respected in the world as they are today, precisely because of this policy and their resistance, for which they are paying every day and every hour.

"A fair peace means an independent and neutral Kosovo with guarantees for the Serbs, for Serbian interests in Kosovo, and an open country with a democratic system and an open market. This would be a contribution to Europe and would reassure the Albanians and, I believe, the Serbs too. I have sought a transitional period toward a fair peace to be achieved without conflict. An administration would be established, alongside demili-

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tarization. There would be equality for everybody, not in the communist sense of equality, but in the sense of a democratic order for everybody in Kosovo and with guarantees for the Serbs."

Rugova, Albanian Envoys View 'Tense' Situation

AU2207171095 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 21 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President of the Republic of Kosovo Dr. Ibrahim Rugova received today in Prishtina Mr. Besnik Koni, charge d'affaires, and Mr. Shkelzen Imeraj, third secretary in the Embassy of the Republic of Albania in Belgrade.

The situation in Kosovo, very tense and grave due to the Serbian regime's daily repression, was discussed in the meeting.

Possibilities for the solution of the Kosovo issue, as well as the developments in the region were also discussed. It was concluded there is a full consent among the Albanian state and political circles on the mode of settlement of the Kosovo issue.

Ethnic Albanians: Milosevic Visit 'Provocation'

AU2107180295 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 20 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Milosevic of Serbia is on a trip to Kosovo today. Serbian media quoted yesterday Milosevic's cabinet sources as saying that he would pay a visit to the Trepca plants, which, as they said "resumed normal production after a long pause, radical changes having been made in the managing board." Sources said Milosevic would call on Trepca plants in Mitrovica and Zvecan and meet with economists and representatives of public life in the so-called Mitrovica District, an administrative unit according to the Serbian-declared territorial arrangement.

Albanian-language BUJKU newspaper correspondent from Belgrade said there were speculations of an eventual meeting being staged in Fushe Kosova (in Serbian "Kosova Polje"), in which Serbian President would make a speech. Such a possibility was mentioned by Serbian Radical Party deputies in the Serbian Parliament, referring to it as part of the election campaign of the Milosevic's socialists. They said such a meeting would be a failure.

Foreign media recalled yesterday that this is the sixth visit of Slobodan Milosevic to Kosovo, the third one after the illegal suspension of Kosovo's autonomy in the wake of Serbian military and police crackdown on Kosovo. Two visits of Milosevic to Kosovo have been cited as the most venal and destructive: the spring 1987 speech at Fushe Kosova ("No one dare beat you," he told the local Serbs) and the programmatic speech in the rally at Gazimestan on 28 June 1989, on the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo. The spring 1987 speech launched him as a Serbian national-communist leader who advocated the right of the Serbian minority to rule overwhelmingly Albanian-inhabited Kosovo. The June 1989 rally speech has been widely seen as the announcement of the incumbent armed struggle as a means to establish the supremacy of Serbs in the then multinational Yugoslav Federation.

The arrival of Milosevic in Kosovo, the very name of Milosevic, constitutes a provocation to the people of Kosovo, for his name and his policies are associated with the most tragic events in the recent history of Kosovo and the region. The message behind Milosevic's words to local Serbs in Fushe Kosova in the spring of 1987 ("No one dares beat you!") was: You can do whatever you want with the Albanians.

Milosevic's name stands for introduction of the system of violence and apartheid in Kosovo, crushing in blood of peaceful demonstrations and rallies of the Albanians against the forceful change of the Kosovo Constitution, then suspension of Kosovo's autonomy in the Yugoslav Federation, killing of Albanians, their imprisonment, poisoning of schoolchildren, occupation of Kosovo, removing hundreds of thousands of Albanians from their jobs, eviction from their apartments, large-scale campaigns of raids and tortures of Albanians, beating to death of innocent Albanians, staging of dozens of political trials, ethnic cleansing of Kosovo and the colonization campaign of Kosovo with Serbs, in a bid to change the ethnic structure in favour of Slavic population.

All Milosevic's trips and speeches in Kosovo have been exploited to serve a negative mobilization of the Serbian minority against the Albanians and Kosovo.

Milosevic's speech today in Mitrovica called a bluff to all those who still retained some vain hope that he came to Kosovo to send Albanians and the world a message of peace and understanding. Slobodan Milosevic reiterated his notorious national-communist theses about the situation in Kosovo and the mode of solution of problems. Milosevic wants a solution in Kosovo based on the rule of Serb minority and the Albanian quislings.

Instead of bearing responsibility for the situation in Kosovo, Slobodan Milosevic accused the Kosovo leadership for its alleged "terrorizing and suppression of Albanians" (sic!). All Milosevic's attempts to mislead the Serbian public opinion and the world that Kosovo Albanians ("the secessionist movement leaders," as he said) allegedly are giving up their bid to independence

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and freedom are but playing charades. The people of Kosovo, over 90 percent of whom are Albanians, are bound for nationhood and independence from Serbian rule. Milosevic's trip to Kosovo today only serves his bid to tighten his grip to power in Serbia, while supporting and encouraging new actions of Serbian regime's violence against the Albanians and Kosovo.

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